Tracing the Itinerant Path: Jishū Nuns of Medieval Japan

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2010

Abstract

Medieval Japan was a fluid society in which many wanderers, including religious preachers, traveled the roads. One popular band of itinerant proselytizers was the jishū from the Yugyō school, a gender inclusive Amida Pure Land Buddhist group. This dissertation details the particular circumstances of the jishū nuns through the evolving history of the Yugyō school. The aim is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the gender relations and the changing roles women played in this itinerant religious order. Based on the dominant Buddhist view of the status of women in terms of enlightenment, one would have expected the Buddhist schools to have provided only minimal opportunities for women. While the large institutionalized monasteries of the time do reflect this perspective, schools founded by *hijiri* practitioners, such as the early Yugyō school, contradict these expectations. This study has revealed that during the formation of the Yugyō school in the fourteenth century, jishū nuns held multiple and strong roles, including leadership of mix-gendered practice halls. Over time, as the Yugyō school became increasingly institutionalized, both in their itinerant practices and in their practice halls, there was a corresponding marginalization of the nuns. This thesis attempts to identify the causes of this change and argues that the conversion to a fixed lifestyle and the adoption of mainstream Buddhist doctrine discouraged the co-participation of women in their order.

Acknowledgments

During the long years of research and writing I had the good fortune to work and study with many wonderful people.

My research in Japan was made possible through the doctoral fellowship from the Japan Foundation.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Professor Sonja Arntzen, her inspiration, optimism and devotion to scholarship helped me through the trials and tribulations of the Ph.D. program. I am grateful to Professor Thomas Keirstead for seeing through the completion of my thesis and helping transform it into a readable text. I wish to thank Professor Sybil Thornton for her guidance in jishū studies, for Professor Sueki Fumihiko for arranging me to conduct research at the University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute. A warm thank you to Professor Hayashi Yuzuru for his patience in helping me read medieval jishū texts while at the Historiographical Institute. I also would like to acknowledge the advice and feedback from my committee members, Professor Atsuko Sakaki and Professor Juhn Ahn. I am indebted to Professor Hitomi Tonomura, as my external examiner, for her vigilant comments and valuable suggestions. All errors and shortcomings are my responsibility.

It is with the utmost gratitude that I thank my family and friends who struggled along with me through the years. They have helped me in so many ways, by reading my drafts, by babysitting and by being companions during my moments of escape. Without their encouragement, confidence and love, this journey could not have been completed. A very special thank you goes to my daughter, whose smiles gave me strength, and to my husband, whose unconditional love, patience and humor gave me the courage to pursue this journey.

Table of Contents

Table of Images

Introduction

The year 1344 was another year of travel for the itinerant holy-man. He and his fellowship of monks and nuns were on their customary spiritual mission. Traveling from province to province, they distributed talismans, chanted the name Amida Buddha, and performed the ritualized dance for audiences far and wide. This itinerant holy-man, the *Yugyō hijiri*, was considered to be the Buddha incarnate, and his fellowship, the *jishū*, were the bodhisattvas. On this trip it was their visit to Iyo province, current Ehime prefecture that was especially memorable. The Yugyō hijiri, Takuga Ta'amidabutsu (1280-1354), encountered and formed a karmic bond with the nun Chin'ichibō (?-1344), the leader of Okunotani *dōjō*, a jishū practice hall.[1] Their spiritual interaction and respect were so great that Chin'ichibō requested that upon her death her disciples, the monks and nuns training at Okunotani dōjō, would serve under the Yugyō hijiri's guidance.[2]

A woman leader of a mixed gendered dōjō offers a fascinating perspective on the dynamics of medieval Japanese religiosity. Chin'ichibō, as stated by Takuga in *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*[3] (Articles of the Rule of Deportment), was a disciple of the monk Sen'a, the founder of Okunotani dōjō, and was his chosen successor.

At the same time that Chin'ichibō was forming a karmic bond with Takuga, jishū nuns were busy performing various religious ceremonies and functions (particularly

[1] Within the *jishū* practice their space of training were called *dōjō*, practice hall. However, by the seventeenth century the use of *tera/ji* (temple) became the standard practice and is applied to the Ji-sect temples today.
[2] This encounter and exchange is recorded in Takuga, *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 1, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979). Details of this will be discussed in chapter six. A translation of this encounter is provided in the appendix.
[3] Takuga, *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, 250.

memorial services). They performed these alongside their fellow male monks in jishū practice halls in Kyoto and in another hundred or so locations. Jishū groups of the medieval period were generally mixed-gendered communities.[4] Both the male and female religious members lived, practiced, traveled, and preached together in their vocation to save and guide as many people as possible to rebirth in the Amida Pure Land.

This thesis is an investigation of the female jishū, of their devotion and challenges, of their positions and reception, in their roles as jishū practitioners in the early fourteenth century. This study also questions the cultural circumstances surrounding the negotiation and renegotiation of gender relations in jishū groups from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

Medieval Japan was a fluid society in which many wanderers, both men and women, from tradesmen, entertainers, pilgrims, and religious proselytizers, traveled the roads. A study of the lives of such wanderers is essential for discussing medieval Japan.[5] Similarly, medieval Japan cannot be talked about without reference to Buddhism. The dominate paradigm of Buddhism, however, survives through the writings of monks from monastic centers, and in these texts women are described by their limitations, of the five obstructions, their sinfulness, and their inability to attain similar religious achievement as men.[6] The Yugyō hijiri jishū group was based on a foundation of mendicant itinerancy. As religious wanderers they were, initially at least, outside the monastic centers.

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4 By medieval period, I refer to the period from the late twelfth century to the sixteenth century. For more on medieval Japan in English, see Pierre Francois Souyri, *The World Turned Upside Down* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
5 Amino Yoshihiko, in particular, has stressed this point in his numerous publications. See for example, Amino Yoshihiko, *Hyōhaku to teichaku: teijū shakai e no michi* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1984).
6 For a comprehensive study of women and Buddhism in premodern Japan, see Barbara Ruch, ed. *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002).

Understanding the itinerant jishū groups compliments our knowledge of the lives of wanderers, of the spread of Buddhism throughout the country, and furthermore, offers insights to gender inclusive religious groups and female preachers in medieval Japan. A study of the jishū provides examples of opportunities and styles of devotion that existed beyond the monastic centers. Opportunities that, as this research revealed, included active participation by women.

The term jishū, literally the 'people of the time,' was applied to a religious or lay group that was organized, either for a special or provisional occasions, to chant the name of Amida Buddha (this chant was the *nembutsu*) without interruption during the six hours of noon and evening. The group as a whole and the individuals of the group, male and female, who performed these duties were called jishū.[7]

Examples of such jishū are found throughout medieval texts. One example appears in the *Tale of Heike* in the chapter which describes Taira Shigemori (1138-1179) constructing a building for the purpose of entry into Pure Land. The building was divided into forty-eight sections and in each section six jishū were established to chant the nembutsu. These jishū, totaling two hundred and eighty-eight members, were selected from the ladies-in-waiting serving the Heike and other nobles of the court.[8] Another example is found in Mujū Ichien's (1226-1312) *Tsuma kagami* (Mirror for Women) where he mentions establishing jishū specifically for the purpose of uninterrupted

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[7] Hayashi Yuzuru, "Ippen no hikitsureta mondeshi, jishū ni tsuite," in *Chūsei no jiin taisei to shakai,* ed. Nakao Takashi (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002), 100.
[8] Hayashi, "Ippen no hikitsureta mondeshi, jishū ni tsuite," 92. Referencing *The Tale of Heike* by Kajihara Masaaki and Yamashita Hiroaki, eds., *Heike monogatari,* vol. 3, in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 44 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 341-342. Sybil Thornton also comments that the text *Teikin ōrai shō*, (complied after 1444) remarks on this service as a Yugyō school jishū service. S. A. Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation in Medieval Japan* (New York: Cornell East Asia Series, 1997), 67.

nembutsu performance.[9] Temples organized their members as jishū for a specified duration. Some temples, such as Zenkōji in Shinano province, present day Nagano prefecture, established permanent positions known as *tsumado jishū.*[10]

The term jishū did not apply to a unitary sect in the medieval context, but was rather a label for groups of people who held similar beliefs and engaged in similar practices. Some jishū groups had more formal structure and leadership, like the Yugyō hijiri's jishū group, but there was no exclusive jishū group until the late seventeenth century.

The Yugyō hijiri's group, later known as the *Yugyō-ha* (Itinerant School, Yugyō school)[11] was one of the most prominent jishū groups of the medieval period. Under the seventeenth century Tokugawa religious reforms the various jishū groups were consolidated into one sect, and the Yugyō school was made head of this new Ji-sect, called Jishū, the Time Sect. (The individuals and groups known as jishū in the medieval era used the characters time 時 and congregation 衆. The Time Sect Jishū used the characters time 時 and sect 宗).

Jishū, in the form of the Ji-sect, continues to exist today as a relatively small sect with about four hundred temples throughout Japan. The head temple is Shōjōkōji (or Yugyōji) in Fujisawa, Kanagawa prefecture. The lack of scholarship on Jishū when compared to other religious sects, such as Jōdo shinshū (True Pure Land) or Sōtō shū (Sōtō Zen) has been attributed to the lack of influence the sect has today. One notable

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9 Hayashi, *Ippen no hikitsureta mondeshi, jishū ni tsuite,* 94. Also Onozawa Makoto "Jishū towa nanika I," *Jishū Bunka* vol. 1 (2000 April): 46.
10 Onozawa, "Jishū towa nanika II," *Jishū Bunka* vol. 2 (2000 Oct): 48.
11 The term *Yugyō-ha*, itself was not used in the medieval period; it was created in the seventeenth century to distinguish itself from the other jishū groups. Also, not all jishū groups entered the Ji-sect, some were assimilated into the Jōdo shinshū sect.

exception is the study of the life and practice of the founder, Ippen Chishin (1239-1289). Ippen was the charismatic itinerant holy man whose fellowship traveled the country chanting, dancing and distributing amulets to the populace. His life and teaching were recorded in the splendid pictorial scroll *Ippen hijiri e* (Illustrated life of the holy-man Ippen).[12] The scroll has received attention from various disciplines within Japan and the West. In the scroll we see Ippen and his fellowship of jishū traveling by foot throughout Japan teaching Ippen's view of Pure Land to as many people as possible.

Ippen followed the tradition of the *hijiri,* holy-men; wandering from place to place, distributing amulets and spreading a simplified teaching of Pure Land Buddhism. The jishū who traveled with Ippen included both men and women. While most were not officially ordained, all of them were tonsured and wore Buddhist clerical garb and took clerical names that marked them as devotees of Amida Buddha.

Apart from Ippen, scholarship on jishū has remained sparse. In North America only a handful of scholars have conducted serious research on either jishū in general or the Yugyō school in particular. Sybil A. Thornton's *Charisma and Community Formation in Medieval Japan* is the only book published to date.[13] Her work explains the rise and formation of the Yugyō-ha branch jishū, its popularity and role into the nineteenth century. Jonathan Todd Brown's dissertation focuses on the affiliation of warriors with the Yugyō-ha jishū and how this connection related to the formation of Yugyō-ha doctrines and practices.[14] Japanese research extends further. Kanai Kiyomitsu, for example, has been one of the most active pioneers of the scholarship. In one of his

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12 It is also known as *Ippen Shōnin eden* (Illustrated Biography of the Priest Ippen).
13 Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation.*
14 Jonathan Todd Brown, "Warrior Patronage, Institutional Change and Doctrinal Innovations in the Early Jishū," Diss., Princeton University, 1999.

valuable contributions to the subject, he carefully reconstructed the journeys of Ippen and the leaders of the Yugyō school and has established links between their visits and the subsequent popularity of Yugyō school in those areas. Ōhashi Shunnō has written on the establishment and development of the Yugyō school and has transcribed the texts of the Yugyō school, thereby making them more accessible. Imai Masaharu has published on Ippen's life and teachings as well as the influence the Yugyō school had within medieval society, especially among the warriors.[15]

Buddhism in Japan, from the initial introduction in the sixth century, was predominantly regulated by the state and reserved for aristocrats. Beginning in the twelfth century there was an increase in the number of hijiri who traveled the land and spread their versions of the faith to commoners and aristocrats. Hijiri were religious practitioners and temple fundraisers who, for the most part, were unaffiliated with any specific Buddhist institution. Many promoted the teaching of Amida Pure Land Buddhism.

Amida Buddhism had become popular during the twelfth century. The teaching stressed that Amida Buddha had made the promise to save all sentient beings and guaranteed rebirth for all who recited the nembutsu, the incantation of the words *namu amida butsu* (I take refuge in Amida Buddha). Upon rebirth in Amida Pure Land, all could ultimately achieve enlightenment. Amida's Pure Land was a paradise, and rebirth in it was available to all sentient beings, regardless of class or gender.

Scholars such as Amino Yoshihiko have expressed the commonality of

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[15] For Kanai Kiyomitsu see for example, *Ippen to jishū kyōdan* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1975). *Jishū bungei to Ippen hōgo* (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 1987). *Jishū kyōdan no chihō tenkai* (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 1983). For Ōhashi Shunnō see *Jishū no seiritsu to tenkai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1973). For Imai Masaharu see *Ippen to chūsei no jishū* (Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 2000).
Today there are two journals that specialize in Jishū studies: *Jishū bunka*, published by Iwata Shoin press and *Jishū kyōgaku nenpō*, published by Shōjōkōji.

nonagrarian people within medieval Japan. He offers that while there were those forced into a life of wandering, as a form of escape from hostility and social pressures, there were many who actively pursued this lifestyle.[16] The male and female itinerants comprised of a wide cross-section of the people of Japan. A wanderer visiting a settled community was both an "extraordinary visitor" and "outsider."[17] These visitors were often considered incarnations of buddhas or bodhisattvas or descendants of gods, *kami*. As such there was an expectation for the visitor to provide goods or services of practical benefit for the community he or she had entered.[18] Many sang, danced, told stories, and many built bridges and irrigation systems.

Incentives and motivation for travel included religious devotion, and many pilgrims and proselytizers frequented the roads. Those who proselytized, such as hijiri, transmitted and spread a simplified teaching of Buddhism. Most religious centers, such as Kumano and Zenkōji, had many itinerant religious practitioners who solicited patrons and collected alms for funds as they promoted their religious centers. Both Kumano and Zenkōji were known for the active female pilgrimages.

The Yugyō school, like Ippen, defined itself according to the tradition of hijiri and of itinerancy. This connection with itinerancy and with hijiri allowed the school members to transcend human limitations: the Yugyō hijiri was a living Buddha on earth and the jishū who took the oath and traveled with the Buddha were considered the bodhisattvas. The journeys of the Yugyō hijiri and his train of members were a holy

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16 See for example, Amino, *Hyōhaku to teichaku*.

17 Amino Yoshihiko, "Futatsu no shiten," in *Hyōhaku to teichaku*, 156. This article has been translated into English by David Eason. See "Medieval Travelers: Two Points of View," trans. David Eason, *Jōsai University Review of Japanese Culture and Society,* vol. 11 (December 2007): 14-29.

18 For more details on hijiri, especially *kanjin hijiri* and their activities, see Janet Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i press, 1994).

parade, and this concept was reinforced through the centuries. The Yugyō school gained its popularity not only through its itinerant practice, but through the jishū practice halls across the country. The combination of both itinerancy and stability was one reason for the success and expansion of their religious organization. A balance between itinerancy and stability in their network of practice halls continued up to the nineteenth century.[19]

The formation of the Yugyō school began after Ippen's death when one of Ippen's companions, Shinkyō (1237-1319), continued the mission. Deviating from Ippen's practices, Shinkyō desired to construct a permanent base for his religious sect. Shinkyō set out to realize this goal by establishing permanent practice halls throughout the provinces, residing in one himself. He sent both male and female members to the other practice halls to be spiritual guides and leaders. Shinkyō also established a line of succession, with each new Yugyō hijiri conferring the title Ta'amidabutsu. Chitoku (1260-1320) received this title from Shinkyō and continued with the itinerant mission. Donkai (1264-1327) was the next to carry on with the journey.[20] These three leaders in particular faced the challenges of formalizing a religious order, trying to define both their school and the jishū who belonged to their group. A few surviving letters by these leaders offer insights to the experiences of the monks and nuns on the road. The letters Shinkyō sent to the various practice halls also illuminate the issues jishū members faced and experienced when adapting to a stationary dōjō life.

The Yugyō school was but one of the many jishū groups in medieval Japan. In the seventeenth century, when the Tokugawa government conducted its religious

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19 The Meiji government dismantled their practices in the nineteenth century.

20 It is now the seventieth-fourth Yugyō leader. For a list of the early jishū groups and dates for the leaders, see the *List of Jishū Schools and the Names of Their Leaders* in the appendix.

reformations, the Yugyō school claimed the right to be singled out as Jishū, the Ji-sect. At this time nine other jishū groups were forced to acknowledge and follow the Yugyō school, now the Ji-sect, rules and regulations.[21] Consequently the Yugyō school has the richest surviving documentation, forcing the narrative of this thesis to become Yugyō school centric.

A comprehensive compilation of jishū and Yugyō school documents is the two volume set titled, *Teihon jishū shūten* (Standard texts of the Jishū scriptures). The publication of this collection began with the initiative of Ji-sect monks in the 1970's who were concerned over the difficulty of accessing and obtaining jishū texts. Collected in this publication are all the known texts (at the time of compilation) from the Yugyō school and the jishū groups.[22]

Several documents, including original letters from the initial Yugyō hijiri and a few commentaries on the chanting practices from the early fourteenth century have survived.[23] Likely the most famous archive of the Ji-sect is the *Ippen hijiri-e* scroll,

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21 The nine groups were: Ikkō-ha, Taima-ha, Rokujō-ha, Kai'i-ha, Reizan-ha, Koku'a-ha, Ichiya-ha, Tendō-ha, and Miedō-ha. Prior to the seventeenth century, two other jishū groups had been converted to the Yugyō school, Chin'ichibō's Okunotani-ha and Shijō-ha in Kyoto. Biographies of the founders of Ikkō-ha, Shijō-ha, and Koku'a-ha are included in the *Teihon jishū shūten.*

22 The collection is divided into six sections, titled: Teachings, Annotations, Interpretations, Biographies, Literature, and Records, rules and events. The materials for each section are organized chronologically. Explanatory notes are provided in some texts, with information of the location of the original document, the known or estimated date of the texts, and a brief summary by the transcriber.
The *Teihon jishū shūten* includes the Chōrakuji collection and most of *Jishū chūsei monjo shiryō shū.*

23 The original letters by the initial leaders are held in Chōrakuji, Kyoto. The Chōrakuji collection includes fifty-three original letters dating from 1316 to 1750. The earliest, from 1316, is a letter by Shinkyō addressed to Donkai. Included in the collection are also documents by the Ashikaga Shogunates sent to the Yugyō school. Takano Osamu's *Jishū chūsei monjo shiryō shū* (Collections of medieval Jishū documents) include documents found in Ji-sect dōjō across the country. The texts are transcribed and organized geographically by dōjō.

overshadowed by it, yet important in the history of the propagation of the Yugyō school is the *Yugyō shōnin engi-e* scroll, in which several copies have survived from the medieval period.[24] Many of the standard sources of theology in the Yugyō school was written by the seventh Yugyō hijiri, Takuga (1284-1354).[25] He was also one of the first to record codes of conduct for the jishū.[26] Surviving interpretational work on scriptures appear with the twenty-first Yugyō hijiri, Chiren (1459-1513) and analysis and doctrinal debates prevail after the seventeenth century.

The *Jishū kakochō* (Jishū temple death register), a record of names of jishū and patrons of the Yugyō school, is the oldest surviving death registry in the country.[27] The entry of jishū names began in 1279 with Shinkyō's hand writing and continued to 1563. Divided into monk and nun sections, it was the Yugyō hijiri's undertaking to record the names of those who achieved rebirth in this kakochō. The occasional listing of location or occupation of the individual provides rudimentary clues to the people who surrounded this school. It also demonstrates the vast geographical area the itinerant mission traveled to, and the diverse community that belonged to and supported the Yugyō school.[28]

The amalgamation of jishū groups into one Ji-sect in the seventeenth century has obscured the preceding historical narrative, forming an assumption that there was a unitary Ji-sect prior to the seventeenth century. Gender relations are another area

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24 I will discuss these scrolls in chapter one. A few hanging scrolls with the inscription *Namuamidabutsu* have survived from the fourteenth century. Statues of Ippen and the Yugyō hijiri from the medieval period have also survived and can be seen in the Chōrakuji treasure house.

25 For a discussion of Takuga in English see Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation,* 80-86.

26 I will discuss the codes of conduct in chapter six. See appendix for translations of the codes.

27 This kakochō is referred to as *Ōdo no kakochō* within the Ji-sect today. In this thesis I will refer to this by its more commonly known name, *Jishū kakochō.*

28 A few other kakochō from individual dōjō have survived as well. The kakochō will be discussed in chapter six.

obscured by the preceding practice from the Ji-sect. Women were an integral part of the rise of the Yugyō school organization, and women participated in this active life alongside their male colleagues as fellow practitioners and even as leaders. The opportunities that were given to female members during the initial development of the Yugyō school gradually, but definitely, declined to the extent that by the sixteenth century, the inclusion of female participation was questioned by the school members themselves and by the seventeenth century one leader claimed women had never participated alongside the men.[29] This shift in attitude closely reflects the increase of institutionalization of the Yugyō school. As the Yugyō school leaders encompassed and placed value on monastic Buddhist culture, the teachings in the dōjō also began to dominate and reflect the limitations imposed on women.

Canonical Buddhist discourse clearly marks women as inferior to men and views women as a distraction to men's attainment of enlightenment. This image of women in the Buddhist standard doctrinal context makes mixed-gendered communities an intriguing subject. Yet, only minimal attention has been given to the female jishū and the mixed gendered communities.[30] Even within jishū scholarship the topic of female practitioners and their roles have received limited attention. Imai Masaharu has written an article titled "Ippen and women," but he limits his scope to addressing the question of why Ippen included women in his jishū fellowship.[31] He argues that they were included

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29 I will discuss this in detail in chapter six.

30 An exception would be Nishiguchi Junko. She uses the courtier diary, *Moromori-ki* to assess the practices of jishū nuns from the Rokujō and Shijō dōjō in Kyoto. These two dōjō were non-Yugyō-school jishū. See for example, Nishiguchi Junko, *Hotoke to onna* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1997). Jonathan Todd Brown in one of his chapters has a short section titled "Warrior Women and Jishū Practice halls." See Brown, "Warrior Patronage," 438-444.

31 Imai Masaharu, "Ippen to josei," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 69, no. 6 (2004): 133-139. This article is similar to what he had wrote in Imai Masaharu, *Ippen to chūsei*

because of the appeal of their chanting voices. Jishū were nembutsu practitioners, hence chanting the name Amida Buddha was at the core of their practice. Therefore, he states, the combination of both male and female voices in the chanting of the nembutsu would attract a larger crowd.[32] While this point merits acknowledgement, I demonstrate in this dissertation that the inclusion and participation of female members was much more complex than the allure of their chanting voices. The active participation and opportunities, I speculate, was tied to the very practice that identified the order - itinerancy.

Joining the Yugyō school meant a life of travel, uncertainty, separation from loved ones as well as discipline and obedience to the leader. Being a jishū did not require a secluded life, but rather an active life. The purpose of their practice was not isolation for one's own liberation, but to show the path of salvation to as many as possible. The religious path of a jishū included personal and cosmic salvation for all sentient beings. And that path was available to all, regardless of gender or class.

In order to address the change in attitude towards and the position of female members in the Yugyō school, it is important to examine the rise of the Yugyō school and the shifts that took place in the order's history. What influenced the demarcation in the gendered relations and the devaluation of women within the order?

The first chapter provides the background for understanding the rise of the Yugyō school as a religious organization. It explains Ippen's path and goal as a mendicant itinerant. I address the issues raised by Ippen's mixed-gendered itinerant community: was Ippen's fellowship of both male and female unique, and how were they regarded by their

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no jishū (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 2000), 26-35. The section is titled "Ippen to jishū no ama oyobi josei."

32 Imai, "Ippen to josei," 139.

contemporaries? This chapter also examines how the Yugyō school became one of the most influential religious groups in the medieval period. The Yugyō school maintained the ideal of itinerancy based on the legacy of Ippen, yet found stability in its network of practice halls throughout the archipelago. This chapter seeks to describe how this was accomplished and what impact this had on the female members.

The second chapter addresses the influence jishū had in the medieval period, especially their role as spiritual guides on military battlefields. Drawing on documents from the Yugyō school leaders and the known medical practice of the time, I offer evidence of links between the jishū and combat medics known as kinsōi and to childbirth.

The third chapter details itinerant practice in the Yugyō school. I trace the changes within the order, in particular the significant change brought about by the official recognition from the Ashikaga shogunate in the fifteenth century. Having surveyed the overall itinerant practice of the Yugyō school from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, I then seek to locate female activities within this practice. Can we observe any significant changes within the itinerant practice from before and after the official sanction, especially regarding the roles of female members? Surviving letters and travel records by the leaders provide limited yet fascinating insights to the life on the road for the jishū.

To better understand the involvement of the female jishū within their own time as religious figures and travelers, I contend in chapter four that travel and taking the tonsure were a viable option for women of the time. I provide other examples of women who took the tonsure, and formulate insights into the practices of nuns from different schools and sects. I also examine some of the ideas, attitudes and practicality of travel at the time. One example of other religious female travelers I discuss in this chapter are the Kumano *bikuni*, nuns of Kumano, and their proselytizing model.

In addition to written records, this study has also been informed by the process of understanding gender relation through spatial arrangement. By examining the physical space the jishū lived and practiced in, I offer additional clues for discerning the social relationships within the jishū community. Chapter five examines the Yugyō school through their living and practicing space. Drawing on Daphne Spain's study on gender spaces, this chapter seeks to understand how the gender-inclusive nature of this group is reflected in the architectural space of their practice halls or dōjō.[33] In addition to the spatial arrangement, this chapter also examines regulations established for those living in these practice halls and reveals something of their relationships and practices performed by the jishū members.

The final chapter provides evidence of the activities and concerns women had within the practice halls. By surveying death registers and examining letters by the Yugyō school leaders, an outline of life in this community surfaces, including an insight to gender relations, the active network among the members, and examples of female leaders. Membership encompassed a wide and diverse class, from warriors, courtiers and merchants.

The lack of scholarship to date on female jishū is in part a reflection on the scarcity of sources. Yet, by combing through the available primary material, sufficient information was gained to reconstruct a preview of the lives of female jishū during the medieval period. To locate the participation of women in a chronological order, I began with an examination of the letters by Shinkyō, the self-claimed successor of Ippen. Over a hundred of his letters sent to various members and patrons have been preserved, along

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33 Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

with Shinkyō's poems and records of some of his teachings. This compilation, known as *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo* (Collected teachings of Ta'a Shōnin) can be found in *Teihon jishū shūten* and Ōhashi Shunnō, *Jishū niso Ta'a Shōnin hōgo* (The teachings of Ta'a Shōnin, the second patriarch of the Jishū).

Fewer letters survive of subsequent Yugyō school leaders. Jishū female members and their roles in the group are described through these limited but valuable letters. I also examined travel records of the leaders to find clues to life on the road. For life within the practice halls, I examined codes of conduct and regulations for the jishū. The *Jishū kakochō* and other jishū temple death registers were challenging and valuable sources. Courtier diaries, especially *Moromori-ki* (The diary of [Nakahara] Moromori) were examined for information and insight into the Kyoto jishū. Local histories were also useful in understanding the context and life-space within which the community of the jishū lived. Supplemental information from literary sources was also used, for example, *setsuwa* (tale) collections, noh plays and travel literature. All translations, unless indicated otherwise, are mine.

Until the seventeenth century the term jishū referred to both individuals participating in the chanting of the name Amida Buddha and a unit organized around the chanting practices. In this dissertation, 'jishū' will be used for the individuals participating in the practices. When indicating a unit or school organized around the practices of jishū, I use the unit's name, for example the Yugyō hijiri's group will be referred as the Yugyō school.[34]

The Yugyō school documents address their members as jishū, which was a

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[34] Brown for example, distinguishes the two by applying Jishū (capitalized and not italicized) for the order or sect and *jishū* (italicized and not capitalized) for the members of the group. Brown, “Warrior Patronage,”47-48.

gender-neutral term. To specify a gender, the term *sō* was used for the male members and *ama* for the female members.[35] In this dissertation, both for convenience and to make the topic more approachable to non-specialists, I have adopted the English translations of 'monk' for sō, and 'nun' for ama.[36] I also use the term 'female jishū.'

Written history has often neglected, if not forgotten, the presence and role of women. For this reason alone, this study, by recovering actual accounts of women of the past, helps to fill in the gaps and holes of Japanese religious history.[37] The Yugyō school appears to have practiced, at least for a brief period of time, a rare case of provisioning identical activities and guidance to both sexes. This co-participation by both genders in a Buddhist organization contradicts some of the implicit assumptions about gender relationships in the Buddhist orders of medieval Japan. The female jishū from the early fourteenth century led active and sociable lives, one that included travel, preaching and singing. Their challenges and complaints and reservations, presented in this dissertation offer a new and useful chapter to the sill fragmented picture of female Buddhist preachers in medieval Japan.

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35 They did not use the term *biku* or *bikuni*.

36 It is to be understood that the Western Christian usage of nun and monk differs from the practices of the jishū. The term ama itself took on a variety of styles and practice within Japan's history, making the term a difficult one to translate. Ama ranged from individuals who took formal vows and secluded themselves in a monastic community, to those who took the vows but continued to live close to a lay life. From those who did not take the vow but followed ascetic vows, to those who did not take the vow and continued to live close to a lay life but fashioned themselves as an ama.

37 Barbara Ruch stresses the importance of recovering unused sources and how crucial it is that one reads from the "exclusively andocentric religious texts and reconstruct from it the experience, practices, religious views, and indeed the very history of women in religion." Barbara Ruch, "Obstructions and Obligations: An Overview of the Studies that Follow," in Ruch, ed. *Engendering Faith*, xliii.

Chapter 1
The Rise of the Yugyō School

The rise of a religious organization, to borrow James C. Dobbins's words, is often "an elaborate and extended evolution where belief systems, ceremonies, rituals, hierarchies, legitimation of authority, and institutional structure are all gradually defined."[1] This process applies to the Yugyō school founded on Ippen's school of Pure Land Buddhism. It was a challenge for the Yugyō school leaders to institutionalize a group which identified with itinerancy. Its gradual institutionalization not only changed the concept of itinerancy within the order, but redefined the roles of female members. A study of the development of the school, beginning with Ippen, is important to understand how women's roles were gradually reshaped over time.

The pictorial scroll *Ippen hijiri e*[2] has immortalized Ippen Chishin (1239-1289) as a mendicant itinerant religious preacher. On this scroll, James H. Foard comments that "we can see that Ippen's life is presented as a retreat from society of delusion and desire into enlightenment, and at the same time an affirmation that this enlightenment embraced universally everyone in that deluded society."[3] The scroll was produced not for a religious order, but for the court circle of Kyoto. Shōkai (1261-1323), the commissioner of the *Hijiri-e,* believed to be Ippen's half-brother, had settled in Kyoto at Rokujō dōjō. He was able to obtain sponsorship from various court nobles for the production of the

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1 James C. Dobbins, "From Inspiration to Institution. The Rise of Sectarian Identity in *Jōdo shinshū," Monumenta Nipponica* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 1986): 331.
2 Subsequently referred to as *Hijiri-e.*
3 James H Foard. "Prefiguration and Narrative in Medieval Hagiography," in *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, ed. William R. LaFleur (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 91.

silken-lined *Hijiri-e* scroll. Even after Shōkai's death, Rokujō dōjō continued to exist as a relatively wealthy independent mixed gendered dōjō. This dōjō offered religious rituals and services to the nobility in Kyoto, including scheduled *nembutsu* dance performances.[4]

The scroll places Ippen within a context of popular narratives and religious practices. Many scenes and texts of *Hijiri-e* are descriptions of well visited pilgrimage sites in an ongoing literary tradition, offering visual renditions of holy sites and elaborating on the history, legends, and miraculous virtues of these places. The scroll does not present Ippen as a cult founder, but rather as an individual traveler and a religious teacher.[5] Ippen is deliberately portrayed as a *hijiri,* a holy-man. Hijiri were a common sight in medieval Japan. They fulfilled an important role spreading the Buddhist faith and promoting holy-sites to the populace. Hijiri, described as hermits and wanderers, appear in sources from the eleventh century. "They provided the vehicle by which Pure Land Buddhism developed and spread as an indigenous path to awakening."[6] Hijiri concentrated on simple Buddhist practices such as reciting the nembutsu or offering amulets. They also promoted teachings, such as rituals designed to make crops grow and

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4 The *Hijiri-e* distinctly mentions Ippen's words of "my teaching is for this life only," suggesting Shōkai did not intend to create a religious order based on Ippen's teachings. The goal or message of the scroll by Shōkai was, as Miya states, to portray the 'human-ness' of Ippen. In contrast, the scroll by Shinkyō, the *Yugyō shōnin engi-e* displays the qualities of a religious cult founder. See Miya Tsugio, "*Ippen hijiri-e* to *Yugyō shōnin engi-e*," in *Ippen hijiri-e to chūsei no kōkei,* ed. Ippen kenkyū kai (Tokyo: Arina shobō, 1993) 193. Miya Tsuguo, "*Yugyō shōnin engi-e* no seiritsu to shohon wo megutte*,"* in *Yugyō shōnin engi-e,* in *Nihon emakimono zenshū* 23, ed. Kadokawa shoten henshūbu (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1968), 7. A discussion of the role of female members from this dōjō will be discussed in chapter four.

5 See Miya, "*Yugyō shōnin engi-e* no seiritsu to shohon wo megutte*,"* in *Yugyō shōnin engi-e,* in *Nihon emakimono zenshū* 23, 7-15. And Miya,"*Ippen hijiri-e* to *Yugyō shōnin engi-e*," 193-195.

6 Dennis Hirota, *Plain Words on the Pure Land Way* (Kyoto: Ryukoku Univeristy Press, 1989), x.

people to prosper, rituals that were appropriate for the needs of ordinary people.[7] Hijiri were usually unorthodox religious figures who practiced ascetic regimens outside the monastic institutions and basing their livelihood on alms.[8] The itinerant hijiri were not just preachers seeking alms; they were also storytellers and providers of new information, technologies and skills. They were holy men, yet they broke the monastic rules.[9]

Ippen and His Itinerant Journey

The colourful and detailed renditions in the *Hijiri-e* scroll depict the hijiri, Ippen, and his fellow jishū as they travelled throughout the archipelago and visited various holy sites. The *Hijiri-e* also recorded Ippen's poems as a teaching device and to reveal Ippen's spiritual inspirations. This focus on Ippen's poetic sensibility was typical of the travel literature of the time.[10] Journey was seen as a metaphor for a spiritual path and the scroll perhaps offered the viewers an opportunity to experience Ippen's journey. Those who did not physically go on a pilgrimage to the various holy sites could, by viewing the scroll, travel by proxy with Ippen and thus share in the experience.[11]

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7 Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds*, 30.
8 Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds*, 159. Hayashi Yuzuru provides the explanation that Buddhist practitioners of the time can largely be categorized into two: the traditional and orthodox *Shōdōmon* monks and the *Tōnseimon* monks that deviated from the orthodox schools. The Tonseimon monks, such as Zen monks, Ritsu monks and the Nembutsu practitioners, helped spread the Buddhist teaching to the general populace. The term hijiri, (or shōnin), was predominantly given as a designation for the Tonseimon monks. The term was used both as an honorific designation and as a common noun, referring to and implying low-ranking wandering monks. Hayashi, "Nihon zendō e no yugyō to fusan,"76.
9 Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds*, 148.
10 Laura Kaufman, "Nature, Courtly Imagery, and Sacred Meaning in the *Ippen Hijiri-e,*" in *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, ed. William R. LaFleur (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 60.
11 This no doubt gave power to the dōjō which held the scroll – Rokujō dōjō and Shōkai.

The *Hijiri-e* starts with the young Ippen, aged thirteen, departing with the monk Zennyū (dates unknown) for the urban centre of Dazaifu in Kyushū. There he studied Seizan Pure Land Buddhism under Shōtatsu (dates unknown) for twelve years, with a year spent training at Kiyomizu temple in Saga prefecture.[12] In 1263 Ippen's father, Kōno Michihiro, died and Ippen returned to his native land, Iyo province. Once home, he proceeded to live a "half sacred, half secular" life.

In 1271, Ippen decided to abandon family life and live as a Buddhist renunciant. He began his spiritual journey with a pilgrimage to Zenkōji in Shinano, current Nagano prefecture. He gained enlightenment there and, attracted to the parable of "two rivers and a white path,"[13] he once again returned to his home province. For three years he constantly chanted the nembutsu in seclusion. In 1274 his itinerant journey began. Leaving his home once again, he traveled with four companions, Shōkai, (who left the group at Sakurai no hama), Chōichi, Chōni, and Nenbutsubō. These companions traveled with him through Shitennōji in current Osaka, to Mount Kōya, and all the way to Kumano shrine in current Wakayama prefecture. Ippen had a revelation at Kumano and then spent the remaining sixteen years of his life traveling throughout Japan, going as far north as Esashi in present day Iwate prefecture, and as far south as Ōsumi, present day

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12 Shōtatsu was a disciple of Shōkū (1177-1247), a monk who had studied with Hōnen (1133 1212), the founder of Jōdoshū. In Japan today Pure Land Buddhism implies the Chinzei school; however, during Ippen's time, Seizan Pure Land Buddhism dominated in popularity. Hayashi Yuzuru, "Nihon zendo e no yugyō to fusan,"71.

13 This parable appears in the *Sanzen-gi (Shan-shan-i)* by Zendō (Shan-tao). "A man is traveling to the west. In the wilderness he is pursued by bandits and fierce animals and comes to a place where two rivers meet: one is a river of fire which flows to the south and the other, a river of water which flows to the north… Where the two rivers meet is a narrow white path." "The river of fire represents anger and the water of greed. The white path symbolizes the slim possibility of awakening faith in a mind full of evil passions…The western bank represents the Pure Land." Hisao Inagaki, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1992), 228-9.

Kagoshima prefecture.

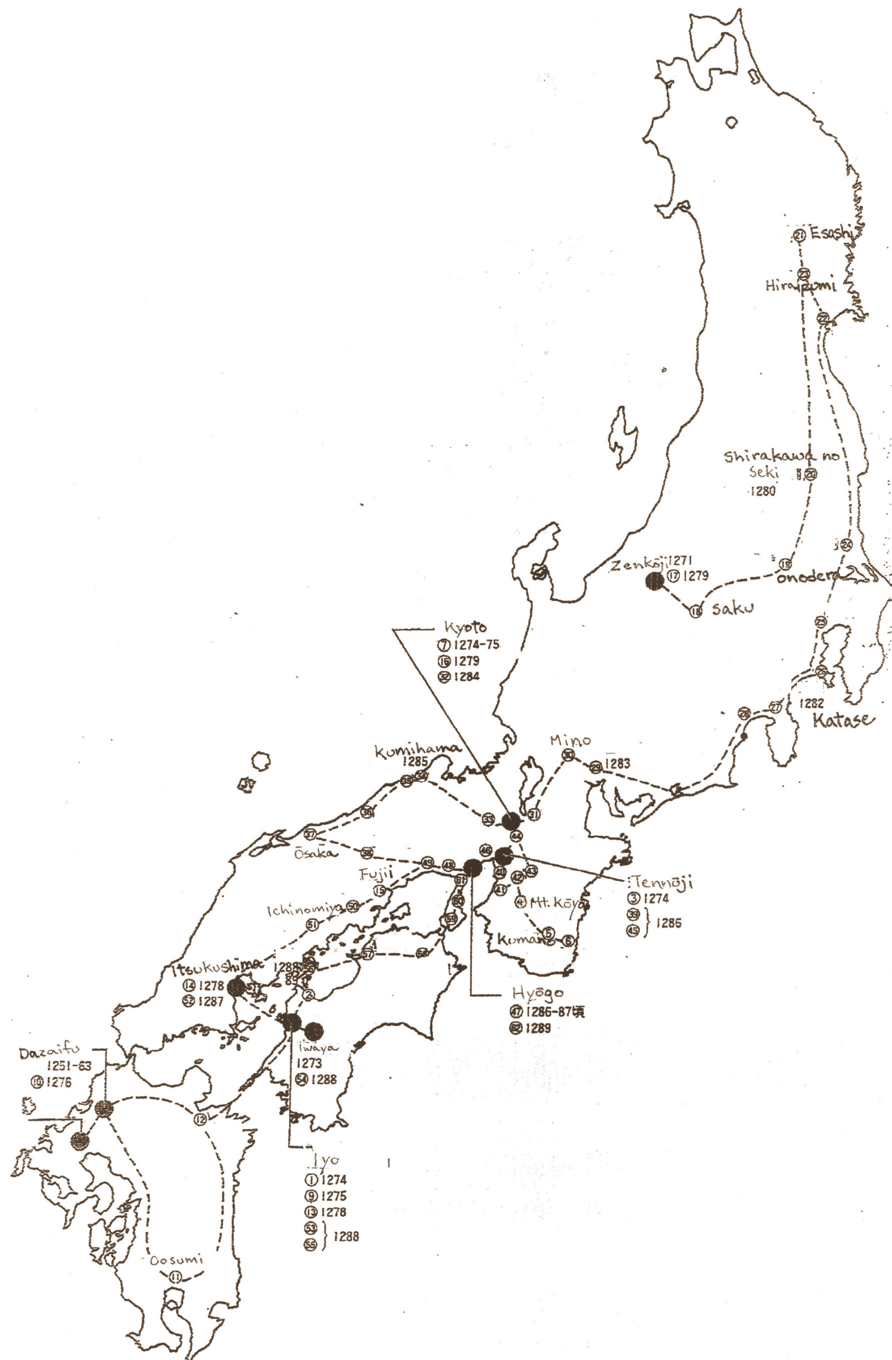


Fig. 1 Map of Ippen’s route. Source: Original map in Japanese from *Jishū no bijutsu to bungei,* ed. Jishū no bijutsu to bungeiten jikkōinkai (Tokyo: Tokyo bijūtsu), 25.

Ippen burned all his writings just before his death. He insisted that his teachings were for his lifetime only. He left instructions to his fellowship not to hold a funeral, but to leave his corpse in the field for the beasts. Ippen passed away at the age of fifty-one at Shinkōji, in current Hyōgo prefecture. At the time of his death, there were seventy-eight who traveled with him, about two hundred and eighty who had taken the tonsure by Ippen, and over two million five hundred thousand people who had been made a promise of salvation by receiving Ippen's amulet.[14] The population of Japan at the time is estimated to have been between five million to ten million, these numbers mean that Ippen, during his sixteen years of itinerancy, distributed his amulets to at least a quarter, if not half of the population.[15]

The pictures and text of the *Hijiri-e* have often been used by scholars as a tool for studying societal dynamics of medieval Japan. The pictures are not restricted to the religious subject matter, but instead contain precise details that allow a view into the world of medieval temples, shrines and marketplaces. The marketplace was a common meeting place for wanderers of all types. As the scroll makes clear, Ippen's own life as a mendicant, with the goal of distributing amulets freely to all, brought him into contact with people of diverse classes and livelihoods as he travelled through the marketplaces and holy sites.

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14 Shōkai, ed, *Ippen hijiri-e,* annotation. Ōhashi Shunnō (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 35, 38 and 140. For the final number, the *Hijiri-e* records 25 *oku* 1724 (250,001,724). However, the term *oku*, was frequently used for 100,000. See for example, Hayashi, "Nihon zendo e no yugyō to fusan,"86.

15 Hayashi Yuzuru, "Odori nembutsu no kaishi to tenkai," in *Yugyō no sute hijiri*, *Ippen,* ed. Imai Masaharu (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbonkan, 2004), 109. This is assuming the given numbers are believable.



Fig. 2 A scene of a marketplace in *Ippen hijiri-e*. Source: *Ippen shōnin eden,* in *Nihon no emaki* 20, ed. Komatsu Shigemi (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1988), 99.

In his numerous publications, historian Amino Yoshihiko (1928-2004) has argued the importance of understanding the world of those not bound by the land. He discusses how in the middle of the thirteenth century itinerant people became a distinctive and increasingly influential segment of society, over which the court began to seek control.[16] Wanderers had no stable residence and hence were not responsible for the cultivation of fields; by extension, they were not responsible for taxes since tax assessments were based on land.[17]

Amino Yoshihiko tells us that those not bound to the land were people of *muen* status. 'Muen' can be defined as something 'unconnected' or 'unbound.' Janet Goodwin glosses Amino's definition of the concept "as the condition of being unattached to a particular institution (except the throne), overlord (except the emperor), or place (except

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16 Amino Yoshishiko, "Medieval Travelers: Two Points of View," trans. David Eason, *Jōsai University Review of Japanese Culture and Society,* vol. 11 (December 2007): 14.
17 Punishments for those who fled from their responsibilities on the estates are listed in *Goseibai shikimoku*. See Kuroda Hiroko, *Josei kara mita chūsei shakai to hō* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 2002), 150-156. The reason for Shinkyō's decision to retire and establish permanent residence has often been associated with this government sanction and concern about itinerant groups.

Japan itself)."[18] Muen implies the lack of any restrictive social ties or obligations of either legal or communal nature. Unconnected areas of land, property which no one owned, for example, mountains, uncultivated land, riverbanks, and roadways, provided physical space for various activities, including trading, solicitation of religious offerings, and entertainment. Muen spaces were where activities could be carried out independently of public authority.[19]

One particular muen space was the marketplace. According to Amino, the significant development of marketplaces in the thirteenth century makes this a transitional period. The increase in agricultural and commercial productivity led to surpluses, and hence cultivators travelled to trade the excess at marketplaces. The marketplaces offered a space for an interactive social life; a place to barter and a stage to proselytize one's beliefs. Marketplaces were not yet in permanent locations but were still periodic, operating two or three times a month near crossroads, bridges, or the gates of temples. A variety of people, from traders, to entertainers, to religious proselytizers, gathered at these markets.

The markets were a "junction of two realms, the secular and the sacred, a point of temporal and spatial connection."[20] From the tenth century, there was a conceit that a market should be run under a rainbow. Katsumata Shizuo notes how the rainbow linked the mundane world with the sacred world. A market was a gate, a point of entry and exit between the world of the gods and humans.[21] The markets served not only as a place of

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[18] Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds*, 4.
[19] Haneda Tatsuro, "The Japanese Public Sphere, the Kugai." *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 2-3 (2006): 612-614.
[20] Hitomi Tonomura, *Community and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan: The Corporate Villages of Tokuchin-ho* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 114.
[21] Katsumata Shizuo "Chūsei kara kinsei e," in *Nihon chūseishizō no sai kentō,* ed. Amino Yoshihiko, et al (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1988), 155.

material exchange but also were a spatial realm outside everyday life.

By the late thirteenth century the sporadic markets expanded and became more regular. Toyoda Takeshi explains that the expansion of the markets encouraged people to become specialists in the manufacture or distribution of a specific product.[22] Many vendors were women, and for them traveling to and from markets became a common way of life.[23] Marketplaces became a central location for commodity exchange, informational networks, entertainment, and encompassed a gathering of people from various backgrounds. Outside of their economic role, marketplaces provided a dramatic interactive stage for social life and thus marketplaces were often used by hijiri to seek alms and promote their ideology.

Amino Yoshihiko proposes that Ippen spread his teaching with an awareness of the 'space' of the marketplace and of the nature of people within that space. He contends that it was within this backdrop that Ippen's teaching and lifestyle was able to develop into a religious organization.[24]

Ippen certainly capitalized on the social gathering that occurred at marketplaces in his quest to expound his teaching. It was at the marketplaces that he was able to attract a crowd through his dancing performance and so distribute the amulet which guaranteed salvation. As Amino suggests, Ippen's popularity could very well have been tied to the marketplace. A large cross-section of people would have been available to recruit into his

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22 Toyoda Takeshi, "The Growth of Commerce and the Trades," in *Japan in the Muromachi Age,* ed. John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 134-139.

23 *Shokunin uta awase* details and illustrates various venders and their products, a large number being female.

24 Amino Yoshihiko, *Nihon chūsei ni naniga okitaka* (Tokyo: Nihon Edita Sakuru Shupanbu, 1997), 194-205.

following.[25]

Ippen's itinerant journey held two purposes. First, he had the goal of creating a utopian world, a world where the Amida Buddha and Sentient Beings come together through the Six Character Name, "*Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu*." [26] Ippen wished to create a world secured by the Name. By offering people a chance to chant the Name or receive the amulet (which had the same benefit as having chanted the Name), he sought to save all the Sentient Beings of this world. The utterance of the Name, in Ippen's view, transcended time, space, life and death. Both Amida Buddha's enlightenment (achieved ten kalpas ago) and the rebirth of sentient beings of the present would be simultaneously achieved by chanting the Name. To achieve this goal he believed it was required that he encounter and distribute an amulet with the inscription of the Six Character Name to as many people as possible.[27]

The second purpose of travel to Ippen was that of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage itself offered a form of ascetic practice. "In pilgrimage, Ippen found a concrete expression of

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25 Ippen, however, was by no means original in using a space where people gathered together to spread faith. Long before Ippen, Pure Land Buddhist monks such as Kūya (903-972) had preached in the marketplace, dancing and calling the name of Amida Buddha. Wm. Theodore De Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition,* 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 213.

26 For a discussion of this, see both articles by Hayashi in *Yugyō no sute hijiri*, *Ippen,* ed. Imai Masaharu (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbonkan, 2004).

27 One key concept of Ippen was *jūichi funi ju*, in praise of the Nonduality of the ten and one. Based on the tradition of the Seizan Pure Land Buddhism, Ippen wrote a poem which represents this concept:

Enlightenment [achieved] ten kalpas ago
[Is in] the world of Sentient Beings
Rebirth [through] the single [chanting of] the nembutsu
[Is in] the land of Amida
[Through] the unity of the [Enlightenment achieved] ten [kalpas ago]
[We] achieve [a state of rebirth] in life [and] at death
[Where Amida's] land and [Sentient Beings' world] are one and the same
[We] are seated in the Great Assembly [which is Amida]

Translation by Sybil A. Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation in Medieval Japan*, 62.

traditional Pure Land purification practices necessary to achieve or merely to preview rebirth."[28] The insecurities of travel, such as harsh weather conditions, the lack of steady access to food, clothing, and shelter, naturally forced one to discard the basic human necessities, which led one then closer to birth in Pure Land.

In his travel he visited famous sacred centres throughout Japan, his itinerary included Zenkōji, Tennōji, Kōya and Kumano.[29] The theme of pilgrimage depicted in the *Hijiri-e* scroll is reinforced through the rendering of specific details of the temples and shrines. The illustrations of Ippen show him engaged in prayer, visiting with the local priests and watching sacred dancers.[30]

Pilgrimage, according to Victor and Edith Turner, provided "a carefully structured, highly valued route to a liminal world where the ideal is felt to be real, where the tainted social persona may be cleansed and renewed."[31] In the Buddhist context, travel offered a natural metaphor for the spiritual path, an opportunity to experience the profundity and beauty of life.[32] Pilgrimage offered "liberation from profane social structures that are symbolic with a specific religious system."[33] The decision to go on a pilgrimage might take place within the individual, but on the journey and at the sights that individual is connected with like-minded people, forming a fellowship.[34]

Normally a fellowship formed en route to a sacred site would dissolve as each pilgrim returned to his or her native home. With Ippen, however, the fellowship

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28 *Thornton,* Charisma *and Community Formation,* 60.
29 Ippen visited at least thirty-seven shrines and temples.
30 Kaufman, "Nature, Courtly Imagery, and Sacred Meaning," 64.
31 Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspective* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1978), 30.
32 Kaufman, "Nature, Courtly Imagery, and Sacred Meaning," 61.
33 Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 9.
34 Ibid., 31.

continued from one site to another. Furthermore, it was Ippen's own mission - to save each and every sentient being - that united the fellowship. Ippen's community of jishū members met and grew during Ippen's pilgrimages. They were a community of wayfarers, of equals on the same spiritual path, sharing a common way of life for the duration of the pilgrimage.

Kumano holds an important significance within the *Hijiri-e* and within the Yugyō school. Part way into his pilgrimage, when he was in the vicinity of Mount Kōya, Ippen began distributing amulets. He gave these to any who would chant the nembutsu and believe in it, even for a moment. The amulet, or *fuda*, contained the words; "*Namuamidabutsu: rokujūmannin ketsugō ōjō*" or "Namuamidabutsu: rebirth predetermined for six hundred thousand people." However, on his way to Kumano, a monk refused to receive the amulet.[35] This caused some confusion for Ippen. Nonetheless, he persuaded the monk to accept the amulet even if he had no faith in the amulet's powers. Doubting his action he sought divine guidance and went to the main shrine in Kumano. There he received an oracle from the god of Kumano (*kumano gongen*). Kumano Gongen, an incarnation of Amida, dressed in the robes of a mountain ascetic (*yamabushi*), addressed Ippen:

> Hijiri spreading the nembutsu of inter-penetration, why do you go about it mistakenly? It is not through your propagation that sentient beings come to attain birth. In Amida Buddha's perfect enlightenment ten kalpas ago the birth of all sentient beings was decisively settled as Namu-amida-butsu. Distribute your fuda

[35] The monk refused by stating that ""At present faith that is wholehearted does not arise in me. If I accepted your *fuda*,(amulet) I would be breaking the precept against lying." Ippen said, "Don't you believe in the Buddha's teaching? Why can't you accept the fuda?" The monk replied, "I do not doubt the teaching, but there is nothing I can do about faith not arising in me." Dennis Hirota, *No Abode: The Record of Ippen* (Honolulu: University Of Hawai'i Press, 1997), xxxiii.

> regardless of whether people have faith or not, and without discriminating between the pure and the impure.[36]

Armed with this divine confirmation Ippen started to give out the amulets for free to each and everyone, regardless of the recipient's beliefs, status or health. A wooden block for creating these amulets is believed to have been made while he was in Kumano. Ippen's life as the mendicant itinerant, as the *sute hijiri,* the holy man who abandoned everything, truly begins after this experience in Kumano.

The *Hijiri-e* provides us with the religious names of two female figures, Chōichi and Chōni, who traveled with Ippen at the start of his itinerant journey. The identity of these figures has been debated among scholars, the general agreement being that they had to be related to Ippen, either as wife, concubine, or sister.[37] Kanai Kiyomitsu has recently begun to approach the relationship from a different angle, suggesting that Chōichi, Chōni and Shōichibō, the other male figure in the scroll, were merely travelers who sought companionship with Ippen on their own, independent, journeys to Kumano.[38] They are recorded in the scroll on having travelled with Ippen until Kumano.[39]

The relationship between these individuals is not known, and there is no explanation for their presence in the *Hijiri-e*. However, the companions' names were important enough to be included in the *Hijiri-e,* suggesting they must have had an important role in either commissioning the scroll, in the narrative of the scroll, or with Shōkai in establishing the Rokujō dōjō.

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36 Translation by Dennis Hirota, *No Abode*, xxxv.
37 For example see Jishū shōmushō, ed., *Jishū jiten* (Fujisawa: Jishū shōmushō kyōgakubu, 1989), 242 and 245.
38 Kanai Kiyomitsu, "Ippen no tennō-ji fusan to koshoku," in Sunagawa Hiroshi, ed. *Ippen hijiri-e no sōgōteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2002), 12-15.
39 At Kumano Ippen reported to Shōkai that he "had some thoughts" and separated from the travel companions Shōkai, *Ippen hijiri-e,* 26.

After Kumano the *Hijiri-e* scroll continues to detail the participation of women in Ippen's travels. One later text in the scroll, for example, describes an incident where one of the female jishū was almost raped by an outlaw (*akutō*).[40] Why women would participate in the travel and choose to face these risks is never addressed in the *Hijiri-e*. Recent scholars, such as Imai Masaharu and Gorai Shigeru, speculate that the participation of women in Ippen's group was due to the alluring nature of the female voice and female form being able to attract a larger crowd.[41] Had Ippen sought out the participation of women with the calculated intent of using them to gather a larger crowd? It would perhaps be better to see the composition of Ippen's fellowship as a gathering of people who were already on the road since he never seems particularly attached to his fellowship. Following the hijiri tradition Ippen would have encountered both male and female travelers during his itinerancy, and both would have been attracted to his mission and charismatic character. The recruitment to his fellowship took place in muen spaces populated by both genders; so a mixed gendered fellowship could have formed naturally without any calculation.

Ippen gathered a following of jishū, yet, Ippen neither established a sect nor wished his way to continue. After Ippen's death, Ippen's followers scattered: some chose death, some went on their own, and one claimed to be the true successor of Ippen.

Shinkyō: Finding Stability in Itinerant Practices

40 Shōkai, *Ippen hijiri-e,* 51.
41 Imai Masaharu, "Ippen to josei" *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 69, no. 877 (2004 June): 139. See also Imai Masaharu, *Ippen to chūsei no jishū* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 2000), 29. Gorai Shigeru, "Ippen no jishū to yūzu nembutsu," in *Dentō to gendai,* no. 44 (1977), quoted in Umetani Shigeki, *Chūsei yugyō hijiri to bungaku* (Tokyo: Oufūsha, 1988), 26.

The true organizer and cult leader for the Yugyō school was one of Ippen's itinerant followers, Shinkyō Ta'amidabutsu (1237-1319). Shinkyō continued with the practice and mission started by Ippen and preserved and perpetuated it as well. Shinkyō defined the rules and structure for the new order, while he continued to consider Ippen to be the founder. Shinkyō's style of itinerancy and practice became the foundation for the Yugyō school. Even with his care in laying the foundation it would still take another two leaders before a clear line of succession was established.

Ippen's itinerant life has been well captured in *Hijiri-e*, and numerous studies have used this scroll as a tool to understand his life and life generally in medieval Japan, including its architecture, clothing, and customs.[42] A rather less studied scroll which also depicts Ippen is *Yugyō Shōnin ekotoba den*.[43] This scroll does not stop with Ippen's death but continues on and invites us to see the development of the Yugyō school jishū under Shinkyō's guide. The purpose of this scroll was to glorify Shinkyō and legitimize his position as Ippen's successor. The first four chapters record the life of Ippen, roughly matching that seen in the *Hijiri-e;* the remaining six chapters focus on Shinkyō as the leader and his sixteen years of itinerant journey with his jishū. The scroll ends with the establishment of Taima dōjō in 1304.

There are a few major differences between the two scrolls. *Hijiri-e* makes no mention of a successor to Ippen's group, for example. On the contrary, we are informed that Ippen ceremoniously burned his writings and declared that "my teachings are for one

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[42] One must approach this scroll with caution, as it likely reflect the religious statement they wished to make about Ippen, rather than an account of Ippen.
[43] This dissertation will subsequently refer to this scroll as the *Engi-e*.

lifetime only."[44] Such remarks are missing from the *Engi-e,* which instead chooses to highlight Shinkyō (Ta'amidabutsu) as the natural and chosen successor. In the *Engi-e* it is implied that, even before Ippen's death, Shinkyō was regarded as the potential successor of Ippen. When Shinkyō fell ill, an incident which is also recorded in the *Hijiri-e*, Ippen remarks that Shinkyō must be nursed back to health, since his purpose for teaching and leading others is not yet exhausted.[45] Furthermore, Shinkyō is described as the one who fully comprehended Ippen's understanding of the nembutsu; Ippen calls Shinkyō "no ordinary man, but the person who should succeed in teaching sentient beings."[46]

It is believed that Shinkyō met Ippen in Kyūshū and was one of the early members in the formation of the fellowship. He served as *chōshō,* or leader of the chanting, for Ippen and his jishū group.[47] This was an important position in a group where the focus was on chanting.

Not much is known of Shinkyō's life before his association with Ippen. It is known that he was a learned man well versed in scripture and the commentaries of the Pure Land tradition and a distinguished poet. The lack of any claim to high-born status in the *Engi-e* suggests he was of humble origin.[48] The scroll would likely have made such a claim if it was possible as a noble origin would have further glamorized Shinkyō.

Within the collection of letters and records written by Shinkyō, one can find examples of Shinkyō quoting from the Amidist sutras, such as the Pure Land Meditation

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[44] Shōkai, *Ippen Hijiri-e*, annotation, Ōhashi Shunnō. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 130.
[45] *Yugyō shōnin engi-e,* in *Nihon emakimono zenshū,* 23 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1968), 67.
[46] Ibid.
[47] This is mentioned in both *Hijiri-e* and the *Engi-e*.
[48] A Tokugawa period document titled, *Honchō kōsō den*, is a compilation of biographies of monks. Within this, Shinkyō is noted as a member of the Minamoto clan from Kyoto. See *Honchō kōsō den* in *Dainihon bukkyō zenshō,* 103 (Tokyo: Meichō fukyū kai, 1979), 860, quoted in Jonathan Todd Brown, "Warrior Patronage," 65.

Sūtra, and from the Chinese Pure Land master Shandao. He showed himself to be comfortable as well with Tendai doctrines such as the Tendai meditation technique.[49] The *Engi-e* records Shinkyō's debate with another monk from one of the established Buddhist schools. In this debate Shinkyō demonstrated his superior knowledge through his grasp of doctrines and his eloquence in delivering the teachings.[50]

Another distinguishing characteristic of Shinkyō was his talent in poetry. One of his poems is included in the fourteenth imperial poetry anthology collection titled *Gyokuyō wakashū* (Jeweled Leaves Collection, 1312-1349), along with a poem by Ippen. Although both Ippen and Shinkyō are listed as "poet unknown" in the imperial anthology, they are identified in a private poem anthology by Katsumata Nagakiyo titled *Fuboku wakashū*.[51] Katasumata had a close relationship with Shinkyō and took the religious name Shō'amidabutsu. He was also a poet-disciple of the founder of the Reizei school of poetry, Reizei Tamesuke (1263-1328), who was himself the son of the famous poets Fujiwara Tameie (1198-1275) and Abutsu-ni (1222-1283). Within the *Fuboku wakashū* there are thirty-one poems by Shinkyō. This connection led to a poetry exchange between Tamesuke and Shinkyō and, as well, a visit by Tamesuke to Shinkyō in 1316.[52]

During his sixteen years of itinerancy, Shinkyō's traveled less than Ippen. He stayed within the Northern and Eastern regions, especially the Echizen, Kaga, Echigo, Kai and Sagami provinces. Not once does he visit Kyoto or Kamakura, the capitals. Shinkyō also commonly revisited areas, a contrast to Ippen who usually refrained from visiting the same place twice.

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[49] Brown, "Warrior Patronage," 68-70.
[50] On this point, see Brown, "Warrior Patronage," 69.
[51] Shōkai's poem is also included in this collection, with the name Shōkai hōshi.
[52] Kanai Kiyomitsu, *Ippen to jishū kyōdan* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1975), 279.

Kanai Kiyomitsu, in his work *Jishū kyōdan no chihō tenkai,* details the paths both Ippen and Shinkyō took during their itinerant journeys. Questioning the practicality of the time-frame and route of Shinkyō's path as recorded in the *Engi-e*, Kanai Kiyomitsu, with meticulous attention to geography, local history and Jishū documents, sought to 'resolve' the issues he observed. His primary concern lay in the year 1298 when the *Engi-e* records that, within that same year, Shinkyō recovered from a fatal illness, traveled from Sagami to Echigo, then ventured north and then south again through Shinano over the Japanese alps to Mino, and finally returned once again to another location in Sagami.[53] This concentration of travel within a one year span, especially after recovering from a life-threatening illness at the age of sixty-two, appears odd, especially when no travel had been noted for the years 1294- 1296.[54] Examining each destination Shinkyō was supposed to have visited that year and the actions described at the locations Kanai suggests that the *Engi-e* is not recording a list of locations Shinkyō traveled to, but rather stories of how various people, at locations Shinkyō had previously visited, were converted.[55] Furthermore, combing through the given information, Kanai Kiyomitsu concludes that Shinkyō, in fact, traveled slowly, taking his time in each province, at the pace of about one province per year.[56]

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53 These are present day Kanagawa prefecture, Niigata prefecture, Nagano prefecture and Gifu prefecture.

54 Kanai Kiyomitsu, *Jishū kyōdan no chihō tenkai* (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1983), 123-128.

55 Ibid., 139.

56 Ibid., 140. From these findings he suggests a new travel route for the journey of Shinkyō and his jishū that would have been more practical and logical than the *Engi-e* represents.

Fig. 3 Map of Shinkyō's destinations. Source: Original Japanese map from *Jishū no bijutsu to bungei*, 37.

Shinkyō changed the essential purpose of the itinerant journey started by Ippen. Technically, Shinkyō took over Ippen’s mission; practically, he formed his own separate religious order. Unlike Ippen, who wished to save as many Sentient Beings as possible, and somehow (if the calculations are right) managed to distribute three hundred amulets a day for sixteen years, Shinkyō did not continue with random travels to maximize amulet distribution. Instead he visited areas with the purpose of developing lasting relationships, culminating in the creation of a permanent institutional framework that could be passed down from generation to generation. Shinkyō continued on the itinerant path for several years before establishing his head temple, Taima dōjō. It was at this time he seriously

began the work of systemizing his jishū group. The tradition shaped by Shinkyō eventually became the Jishū (Ji-sect, Time-sect) in the seventeenth century. Although the concept of a Ji-sect did not exist during the centuries immediately after Ippen, Shinkyō had framed his school as a separate order from other jishū groups of the time. Shinkyō placed great importance on the term *yugyō* (journey) as the group identity. He saw it as an order based on and connected to the tradition of *hijiri*, holy men, itinerant religious aspirants who belonged outside the institutional monasteries.

Shinkyō's mission differed from Ippen's but he intended to establish roots from the seeds he and Ippen had planted in their time together. Rather than short visits to various places, Shinkyō focused on traveling to areas where he could best propagate his philosophy, to create a concentration of fellow practitioners. He wished to cultivate lasting relationships which, in turn, would lead to forming permanent spaces, dōjō, where the teaching could be grounded. Shinkyō was quick to seek the patronage of the provincial warriors who could supply him with dōjō. Shinkyō delegated trusted jishū members, both male and female, to be leaders of these practice halls.

When Shinkyō decided to retire from the itinerant mission and took up residence at Taima dōjō, he chose a successor to be the itinerant leader. The leader was to carry on the name Ta'amidabutsu and be known as the Yugyō hijiri, the itinerant holy man.[57] The term yugyō, so important and symbolic of the Yugyō school, appears frequently in Shinkyō's correspondences, but not in the *Hijiri-e*, or *Engi-e* (the term is used only once in both the *Hijiri-e* and *Engi-e*).[58] The term used in the scrolls for the itinerancy of Ippen and Shinkyō is *shugyō*, or religious practice.

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57 When the term Yugyō Shōnin became commonly used is unclear. Thornton suggest as late as the early sixteenth century. Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 46.
58 Ibid., 47.

The importance of the term yugyō was established when Shinkyō designated it as the official term for his jishū's itinerancy: that every leader undertaking the itinerant mission, (yugyō), will be handed down the name Ta'amidabutsu.[59] As Sybil Thornton indicates, the emphasis on the term yugyō was a way to differentiate Shinkyō's order from other nembutsu kanjin hijiri groups - including Ippen's.[60] Shinkyō claimed that his successor would lead the yugyō mission.

After the establishment of permanent practice halls only a select few jishū continued to travel with the Yugyō hijiri through the provinces. A divide formed between the jishū residing at dōjō and the jishū accompanying the Yugyō hijiri. The jishū with the Yugyō hijiri were participating in the yugyō, a journey, a path to achieve rebirth. Jishū stationed at provincial dōjō also traveled; those residing in dōjō had an obligation to serve the needs of the community they resided in, particularly the needs of their patron, and a certain degree of travel thus needed to occur. This travel was not considered Yugyō, however. Shinkyō, for example, while 'retired' at Taima dōjō, continued to travel not only around the vicinity of the dōjō, but, for example, went as far as the Kumano Shrine. In 1306, two years after 'settling down' at Taima dōjō, he offered the deity at Kumano records to prove he was the rightful successor to Ippen (this document does not survive).[61]

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[59] Shinkyō states in a letter to Chitoku, "From now on abandon your name Ryo'amidabutsu and take the name Ta'amidabutsu. This name is not for one generation, but is to be passed from generation to generation to the Yugyō [hijiri]." Shinkyō, *Ta'a shōnin hōgo*, in *Teihon jishū shūten*, 1, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 125.

[60] Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 48.

[61] Kumano, as mentioned earlier, was an important location within the Ippen school tradition; in 1274 during Ippen's visit to Kumano Shrine, Ippen received the oracle to promote the distribution of the amulet to each and everyone, regardless of faith.

Establishing a Religious Sect

How can we understand the tension between the idealism of itinerancy and the reality of permanency? Michel de Certeau's theories offer a framework for investigating the dissonance between an itinerant ideal and stationary practice halls of the Yugyō school. Reflecting on the distribution of city space and the activities taken by individuals on the street, de Certeau defines two types of behaviour: the 'tactical' and the 'strategic.' The tactical would match the itinerant ideal. It does not maintain a specific site of operation. It lacks centralized structure and permanence. The strategic, on the other hand, is institutional localization exemplified by the Taima dōjō. The goal of such a space is to homogenize and to create and impose order.[62]

Similarly, Henri Lefebvre observes that for an entity to survive, it needs an organized space:

> Any 'social existence' aspiring or claiming to be 'real', but failing to produce its own space, would be a strange entity, a very peculiar kind of abstraction unable to escape from the ideological or even the 'cultural' realm. It would fall to the level of folklore and sooner or later disappear altogether, thereby immediately losing its identity, its denomination and its feeble degree of reality.[63]

These assertions describe well the transformation of Ippen's and other itinerant groups into organized religious orders. Ippen's legacy was fluid, rootless, and 'unmapped.'

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[62] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 35-36: "A strategy is the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power can be isolated" and " I call a tactic a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus."

[63] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicolson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 53.

The legacy of Ippen was an important focus of the newly founded order, the Yugyō school of Ippen Pure Land Buddhism. The group, however, needed the force of systemization and order that could be created and maintained through a grounded space. The Yugyō school was unique in maintaining an identity of itinerancy; itinerancy was its connection with the 'rootless' that secured the school's power while paradoxically, the school was physically grounded by central spaces.

Correspondence over the next century shows many instances of personal travel unrelated to the yugyō mission. For example, a leader's comment criticizing those who come to the Taima dōjō without permission gives the impression that visits by jishū to the Taima dōjō (or the Fujisawa dōjō, the eventual head dōjō) were common.[64] There are also remarks clarifying the inappropriateness of monks and nuns acting as guides, taking lay people to religious sites, or traveling on long journeys without their dōjō leader.[65] We also have entries suggesting jishū nuns missed religious duties because they had gone on pilgrimages, and we read of jishū monks and nuns accompanying their warrior patrons into battle to serve as religious guides in the early fourteenth century.[66] Officially, only the Yugyō hijiri and his band of jishū were the ones on yugyō, but jishū members, now found scattered throughout the country did travel outside of yugyō mission.

The yugyō practice Shinkyō established was based on the hijiri tradition, especially that practiced by Ippen. Yet Shinkyō perceived his yugyō as a pilgrimage in reverse. Rather than traveling with the intention of converting new members, the Yugyō

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[64] See for example the letter from Chitoku to Donkai in, *Chitoku shōnin*, in *Chōraku-ji no meihō* (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 67.
[65] From Kai'amidabutsu, *Bōhishō*, in *Teihon jishū shūten* 2, ed., Teihon jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979). This point will be discussed in chapter five.
[66] Points to be discussed further in chapter four and chapter two.

hijiri and his jishū traveled to the already faithful to further secure and reinforce their belief in the message. Shinkyō had promoted the role of Yugyō hijiri to that of the Buddha.[67] The jishū traveling with the Yugyō hijiri (Buddha) were in turn the bodhisattvas. This concept of a living Buddha on the road continued to be the main theme of yugyō although Shinkyo's idea was that the Yugyō hijiri was the embodiment of the message and not a deliverer of the message.

Key practices of Ippen, such as itinerancy, amulet distribution, and dancing nembutsu, continued to be an important component of the Ippen school order. Some changes were implemented early in Shinkyō's leadership. As noted, itinerancy was no longer the only basis for the group. Amulet distribution, an essential element to Ippen's philosophy, was continued by Shinkyō, who saw it as a symbolic transfer of Ippen's mission. Shinkyō, however, rather than limiting the right to distribute the amulets to the Yugyō hijiri, gave permission also to two other jishū, Yū'amidabutsu Donkai and Jō'amidabutsu Shinkan of Shijō dōjō.[68] Both these monks resided in Kyoto and had a solid jishū following and a practice hall. Amulet distribution, though important to Shinkyō's mission, no longer formed a basis of authority for the Yugyō hijiri.

What did become the defining feature of the Yugyō hijiri was the death register, known as *Jishū kakochō* (Jishū death registry).[69] This *Jishū kakochō* is the oldest surviving registry in Japan. The first entry begins in 1279 by Shinkyō and ends in 1563 with the thirtieth Yugyō hijiri, Yūsan (1512-1583). The names of jishū who keep their

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67 Those who carry on the yugyō practice with the name Ta'amidabutsu, were Amida's representative or incarnation in this world. The Seventh leader Takuga for example defined the Ta'amidabutsu name: *Ta* as Sentient Being, *Amida* as the Name, *Butsu* as the realization of the vow. Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 82. See also Brown, "Warrior Patronage," Chapter 8.

68 Shinkyō, *Shinkyō shojō*, in *Chōraku-ji no meihō* (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 66.

69 See for example, Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 57.

vows until their death were recorded, symbolizing they had achieved rebirth.[70] The practice of recording down names of those who achieved rebirth originated with the hijiri practice. Names of those who contributed to the hijiri fundraising were recorded in a kakochō to represent and create a community of the saved. It was the Yugyō hijiri who the power to record names in the *Jishū kakochō,* and this registry was passed down to each Yugyō hijiri upon their succession.

Another shift from Ippen's style is found in the changes made to the Nembutsu dance. The dance was viewed as a pathway to the Western Pure Land. The liveliness of Ippen and his jishū's nembutsu dance is portrayed in the *Hijiri-e*. Feet stomping to the beat of the gong, voices chanting in unison the name Amida Buddha, faces alight with the exhilaration of their prayers, the jishū are shown to be fervently dancing while chanting the nembutsu. Surrounding the platform are spectators, entranced by the energetic performance of the dancers.



Fig. 4 Scene of the Nembutsu dance. Source: *Ippen shōnin eden,* in *Nihon no emaki* 20, 195.

[70] I will discuss the *kakochō* in chapter six. See appendix for an example of a *Jishū kakochō.*

This performance is criticized in several contemporary works. *Genkō shakusho* states that the nembutsu dance is an "ecstatic dancing while chanting the sacred name, which men and women engaged in together."[71] *Nomori kagami* reports on the shameless display of body parts during the dance.[72] And the *Tengu zōshi* scroll records their dance as "when they chant, they dance by shaking their heads and swaying their shoulders. As if wild horses, they are vociferous. They are no different from wild monkeys."[73] From the depictions in the *Hijiri-e* it has been observed that, among the dancers, nuns appear closer to the edge of the elevated platform, closer to the audience, in what has been observed as a deliberate staging for the crowd.[74] With their clothing coming loose from the heightened movements of dancing, perhaps more than just their legs were visible to the audiences.

Interestingly, the nembutsu dance with its 'stage service', a key feature in *Hijiri-e,* is lacking in the *Engi-e,* the scroll produced under the direction of Shinkyō.[75] In Shinkyō's scroll the separation of the genders into two distinct rows or lines is obvious, making the division of the sexes explicit.[76] While the production of the *Hijiri-e* was focused on immortalizing Ippen and his journeys, Shinkyō's creation of the *Engi-e* was

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[71] Marian Ury, "Nuns and Other Female Devotees in *Genkō Shakusho*," in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan.* ed., Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002), 191. *Genkō Shakusho* was presented to Emperor Go-Daigo in 1322.

[72] Minomoto Arifusa, *"Nomori kagami,"* in *Shinkō gunsho ruijū,* vol. 21, ed. Kawamata Kei'ichi (Tokyo: Naigai shoseki kabushiki gaisha, 1930), 248.

[73] *Tengu zōshi*, in *Nihon emakimono zenshū* 27, (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1978), 90.

[74] Takeda Sachiko, "Yosoi no hyōshiki," in *Chūsei no kōkei,* ed. Asahi shinbun gakugeibu (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994), 274. Reporting on a point made during one of the study sessions on the *Ippen hijiri-e* by Nagashima Nobumichi.

[75] The original has been lost. According to Miya, there are three versions, in which the words are the same but display different artistic styles. Miya, "Yugyō shōnin engi-e no seiritsu to shohon wo megutte*."* 7.

[76] Except for one scroll, which is not explicit. See Miya, "Yugyō shōnin engi-e no seiritsu to shohon wo megutte." 13.

intended to establish a new order with himself as the rightful successor of Ippen.[77] Shinkyō was likely conscious of the criticism aimed at his followers dancing performance. To encourage the patronage of the local (and central) lords, Shinkyō made a conscious effort to separate the sexes. Men and women traveling together was not unique in itself, however, what Shinkyō wished to demonstrate was that his followers were to be taken seriously as Buddhist practitioners. Separating the sexes through visual cues, such as adding red to the lips of the nuns in the scrolls, was likely an easy first task.[78] Later he was to continue this concept by writing regulations for gender division while residing in a dōjō.

In addition to an explicit separation of the sexes, a conscious effort was made to downplay any depiction of the nembutsu dance. The only dancing scene in the *Engi-e* is the depiction of the first one, when Ippen and his jishū spontaneously began the nembutsu dance. This scene was perhaps too important to be omitted.[79] While the dancing nembutsu continued as a form of religious ritual within Shinkyō's school, it had become just that, a ritualized dance.

When Shinkyō established jishū dōjō he understood that for both the preservation of the group identity and the expansion of the group he had to ensure there was no doubt about the loyalty of the new dōjō. Shinkyō developed the concept and

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[77] Shinkyō delivered a scroll to Kumano shrine with the explicit message that he was the successor. This scroll does not survive.

[78] Another example is the use of the box containing the twelve articles designated by Ippen (*jūni kōgako*, the box of twelve lights) in the *Engi-e* it is depicted as a boundary divider for the sex. See for example the illustration from the *Engi-e* provided in chapter five. The boxes are visible in the *Hijiri-e*, however, they are not rendered for the purpose of separating the monks and nuns. The twelve articles is listed in *Hijiri-e*, see *Yugyō shōnin engi-e*, 369-370.

[79] However, the location given for this first dance differs from that given in the *Hijiri-e*. *Hijiri-e* records it to be within the grounds of a warrior's house in Odagiri. *Engi-e* records it to be at Tomono. Both are within Shinano province.

position of *Chishiki* (religious teacher), a title that designated not only the leader of the mission, but the one who had ultimate authority over jishū members as well. Taking the definition of *chishiki,* religious guide, Shinkyō applied it to himself and, in doing so, became both the religious authority and, by extension, the messenger of the Buddha.

To become a jishū of Shinkyō's school one had to now take an oath of obedience to the Chishiki:

> Those who enter this jishū will from this time forward until the end of time turn their body and life over to the Chishiki… if precepts are broken, then in this lifetime [that jishū] will get white leprosy and black leprosy and in lives to come will slip out from the Amida Buddha's forty-eight vows and will fall into the three evil paths.[80]

This oath, the *Chishiki kimyō kai* (vows of devotion to the chishiki),[81] was both a promise of obedience and acknowledgement of the Chishiki as the religious authority and the messenger of the Buddha. Jishū who kept their oath and chanted the nembutsu would achieve rebirth, but this rebirth now depended, as well, upon obedience to the Chishiki.

A jishū was, as Shinkyō explains:

> what we call jishū are those who have abandoned family, those who have left their residences, those who have made themselves empty and their lives are within the hands of the Buddha [Chishiki]. Those who do everything with the purpose of, and for the benefit of, the guaranteed rebirth, are who we call jishū.[82]

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80 *Yugyō shōnin engi-e,* 72.
81 *Engi-e* reports this as Ippen's words, contradicting the teachings of Ippen's we find in the *Hijiri-e.*
82 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 162.

Shinkyō, while demanding complete obedience from those who took the vow, did not discourage lay adherents from joining the jishū in chanting the nembutsu. He stated that all those who worked together to promote the nembutsu, religious or lay, were Fellow Practitioners, *dōgyō*. The main difference between a jishū and dōgyō was the vow to the Chishiki. The jishū secured their own rebirth through this vow, the laity had to rely on chanting of the nembutsu.[83]

Shinkyō also promoted the importance of the chanting of the nembutsu ten times before death, which was known as the *jūnen* (ten nembutsu). Shinkyō explains that "at the time of death, if there should be no voice of the nembutsu then how could you even dream about the possibility of rebirth?"[84] One of the most important duties of the jishū sent to local dōjō was granting the last ten nembutsu to a dying community member, especially if the dying individual was their patron. Assurance of a jishū to provide guidance into salvation at the moment of death by chanting the jūnen was an attractive proposition for the rich and encouraged the sponsorship of jishū dōjō.

Shinkyō's Successors: Chitoku, Donkai and Takuga

The second Yugyō hijiri was Ryō'amidabutsu Chitoku (1261-1320).[85] In a letter to Chitoku, Shinkyō points out that since Chitoku was the successor and next leader of the yugyō mission he must change his religious name to Ta'amidabutsu: "From now and forever, you are to abandon Ryō'amidabutsu, and designate yourself Ta'amidabutsu. This name is not for just one generation, but to be taken up generation after generation by

[83] Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation,* 100.
[84] Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 174.
[85] He is often considered the third, since Ippen is referred to as the first.

those who take on [the leadership of] *yugyō*."[86]

Chitoku, now both the Ta'amidabutsu and the Yugyō hijiri, traveled for sixteen years and focused on the Kantō and Northern region. The band of itinerant jishū traveling with Chitoku, both monks and nuns, continued to spread the word of Amida Buddha as they had done with Shinkyō. The key difference was that this group was no longer rootless; they had permanent headquarters in Taima as well as a network of provincial dōjō to call home.

It can be seen through his letters that Shinkyō continued to assist Chitoku in his role as Ta'amidabutsu. Referring to himself as Chishiki, Shinkyō assured Chitoku that "you have relinquished your life to the Buddha, and it is by the order of your Chishiki [Shinkyō] that you turn toward all sentient beings to bring benefits [for them]."[87] In another letter he writes: "by the Chishiki's orders you have been sent out on [the road] to reach the unknown ultimate end, since your body and your life are not your own, entrust your departures and arrivals to sentient beings, and simply leave and return in response to people's requests."[88] Chitoku, under Shinkyō's orders, worked and traveled in order to benefit sentient beings through the acts of nembutsu hijiri. The choice of road and places to visit was to be guided by the sentient beings; they were to wander where ever they were needed or welcomed.

Chitoku is believed to have joined Shinkyō and his jishū around 1290, which was not long after Ippen's death.[89] In one of the letters Shinkyō advises Chitoku that, if he cultivates the proper attitude, the monks and nuns will obey him. This suggests

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[86] Ibid., 125.
[87] Ibid., 124.
[88] Ibid., 125.
[89] Kanai, *Ippen to jishū kyōdan,* 252.

Chitoku had met with some resistance from the jishū accompanying him.[90] Some of those who traveled with Shinkyō and had been part of the group longer than Chitoku, might have been resentful of the new leader. However, the authority designated by Shinkyō was important and gave Chitoku leadership.

When Shinkyō died in 1319, Chitoku retired to Taima Dōjō. He instructed Donkai, a disciple of Shinkyō and founder of an important dōjō in Kyoto (Shichijō dōjō), to take on the role of Yugyō hijiri. The concept of yugyō continued to be re-evaluated and redefined. A portion of a letter from Chitoku to Donkai sums up the purpose of yugyō as he viewed it at this time:

> Those who devote their mind and body to the y*ugyō* (Journey) and help with the method of teaching become those who help with the indirect causes. They are receivers of the protection of the mindfulness of the Buddha and are able to achieve rebirth.[91]

The act of yugyō accumulated merit and was the path that led to rebirth. Even if one resided in a dōjō, the heart and mind must remain on the road. Chitoku writes to Donkai; "Although my body is here [Taima dōjō] my heart is on the yugyō."[92]

At the same time as these letters were written many jishū appear to have either left the yugyō mission or their positions in provincial dōjōs without consent of the Chishiki. The identity of jishū as one of travel was no longer the only option, and, to many, residency near the leader had become a more attractive lifestyle. Chitoku complains to Donkai about the jishū who, after leaving their assigned post, sought

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[90] Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo,* 125.
[91] Chitoku*, Yugyō sandai Ta'a shojō,* in *Chōraku-ji no meihō* (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 67.
[92] Ibid.

residency at Taima dōjō:

> Those who following their own heart arrive here [Taima dōjō], are not in the least [directed] by faith or will, but are those who were directed by their own deluded mind. Anger is felt over this and there is no sense of joy.[93]

When Chitoku died a resident of Taima dōjō, Nai’amidabutsu Shinkō (1280-1333), claimed succession and took the name Ta'amidabutsu. The Yugyō hijiri Donkai disputed this succession. Donkai asserted that Shinkō, who had not practiced yugyō, was not eligible to carry on the name. He argued that the main prerequisite for inheriting the name Ta’amidabutsu was to practice yugyō and, as Shinkō had not, he had no right to adopt the name Ta’amidabutsu. Asserting that the defining characteristic of the order was yugyō, Donkai created another headquarters, Fujisawa dōjō, only twenty kilometers south of Taima dōjō. Shinkō, along with several jishū, continued to reside in Taima dōjō. Taima dōjō maintained its position as an Ippen school of Pure Land Buddhism until it was finally amalgamated with the Yugyō-ha in the Tokugawa period under the Ji-sect.

Donkai was a charismatic figure with a network of powerful connections. He had been a disciple of Shinkyō and had been granted the right to distribute amulets in the Kinai region. He was the founder of Shichijō dōjō, or Konkōji, in Kyoto. The dispute over the right of succession with Shinkō led Donkai to seek help from his brother Matano Gorō Kagehira, an estate steward of the Matano area of Sagami province. This connection allowed him to lobby the powerful warriors in Kamakura as well as to build Fujisawa dōjō, today known as Shōjōkōji or Yugyōji, as an official opposition to the

[93] Ibid.

Taima dōjō. Although Shinkyō's line was split in two, in time it was Donkai's sect that emerged as the dominant Ippen school of Pure Land Buddhism. Donkai's efforts ensured the yugyō remained the identifying characteristic in what eventually became the Ji-sect.

With Donkai's authority over Shichijō dōjō in Kyoto and the new Fujisawa dōjō, a pattern for the path of succession was established. Upon the death of the Fujisawa dōjō leader, the Yugyō hijiri would take residence as head of the Fujisawa dōjō. The leader of the Shichijō dōjō then became the next Yugyō hijiri.[94] Donkai symbolically assigned the position of Yugyō hijiri the function of itinerancy.

It would still take a few more leaders before the Yugyō school developed its own defining codes and set hierarchies. It is the seventh Yugyō hijiri, Takuga, who is largely credited for forming an institutional structure by writing down and transmitting doctrinal theories and disciplinary codes that regulated the members [95] His work *Kibokuron*, was the group's first true doctrinal source. Takuga also tried to organize and bring order into the daily lives of the jishū by stressing proper mannerism and behaviour.[96]

Takuga was the leader of the Shichijō dōjō in Kyoto when, in 1338, he succeeded as the seventh Yugyō hijiri. His yugyō route focused on the western area, but he visited the northern districts as well. He remained the Yugyō hijiri until 1354, when he died at the age of seventy.

Takuga emphasized the difference between his order and other contemporary

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94 There are only a few exceptions to this pattern. See, *Yugyō Fujisawa rekidai shōnin shi*, ed. Takano Osamu and Negida Shunzen (Tokyo: Shirogin gyosho, 1989).
95 Takuga is noted as being the nephew of the zen monk Musō Sōseki (1275-1351).
96 Takuga was the leader during a turbulent time. Many battles and disturbances unsettled the country. While Emperor Godaigo (1288-1339) had successfully destroyed the Kamakura government, he had failed to maintain the imperial rule. A new Shogun, Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358), rose up and exerted military and political power.

jishū orders. *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, for example, was written for the jishū of Okunotani dōjō, when they came under the guidance of Takuga and the Yugyō hijiri order. The document lists the discipline expected of jishū of the Yugyō hijiri order, clearly delineating a difference between those under the guidance of the Yugyō hijiri (and Fujisawa dōjō) and the other jishū schools. While it is clear that a sect had been firmly established, Takuga does not refer to his order as Jishū or as the Yugyō school, he refers to the sect as either Jōdo-shū (Pure Land Sect) or Shin-shū (True Sect).[97] Chiren, the twenty first Yugyō hijiri refers to the order formed as the sect of the Amida sutra, Amidakyō-shū.[98]

In 1353 Takuga faced accusations against his jishū by Nikki Yoshinaga (-1376), the military governor of Ise province. Many jishū accompanied warriors to the battlefield to offer them reassurance of salvation before battle. They were dispatched as either *dōdō no jishū* (same road jishū) or *shōban no jishū* (accompanying jishū) and offered the warriors the ten nembutsu before death. More warrior names appear in the *Jishū kakochō* at this time than previously, and it is assumed many defeated warriors, and their widows, joined the jishū in these years.[99]

Nikki Yoshinaga's anger was directed at the jishū who had helped the defeated.[100] In Takuga's reply, he rejected Nikki's claims, and stressed that jishū would aid and protect warriors regardless of sides. Takuga emphasized that there was to be no discrimination over who was entitled to assistance from the jishū. Furthermore, "I find it most painful that you [Nikki Yoshinaga] thought jishū were your enemy." He finishes by

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97 See for example *Jishū jiten*'s entry on Takuga, Jishū shōmushō, ed., *Jishū jiten,* 237.
98 Chiren. *Shinshū yōhōki*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 2, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 997. Section 34.
99 We will examine the accompaniment of jishū for warriors in chapter two.
100 This letter can be found in Takuga, *Shichidai shōnin hōgo*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 2, ed. Teihon jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 383.

stating that, should Nikki feel the need to further protest, he could take it up directly with the shogun, Ashikaga Takauji.

Takuga includes in his reply a reminder of his own personal meeting with the shogun, offering his observation that "he [Ashikaga Takauji] is someone who understands [the difference] between reason and non-reason and would know what is correct."[101] Therefore, Takuga is confident the shogun would support the Yugyō school and its mission, even though Nikki was a relative of the shogun. And so it appears; as Sybil Thornton states, "Takuga won that bout."[102]

This letter to Nikki offers important insights into the unique aspects of the jishū in the fourteenth century. First, we are informed of the connection that the Yugyō leader had with Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358). The Yugyō school and Takuga had influence in high places and he was confident enough to fight for his sect's principles against those who questioned him, even if they were his school's own patrons.

Second, there was a rupture within the order over the expected behaviour. The sect's leader, the patron, and the jishū themselves each had divergent views of what was proper. The leader of the Yugyō school, the Yugyō hijiri, and the retired Yugyō hijiri, now the leader of Fujisawa dōjō, expected absolute obedience from their jishū. Yet, the patrons demanded loyalty towards themselves. From the Yugyō school's perspective, while a jishū assisted their patron, they had to remain as neutral personnel who could promote and provide the idea of salvation for everyone, especially in times of conflict. Patrons perhaps expected demonstration of loyalty by jishū members, as reflected by Nikki's anger toward the jishū who helped those on the opposing side. Despite the

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[101] Ibid.
[102] Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation,* 85. For an English translation of this letter, see Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation,* 182.

assumptions held by the patron, however, those jishū offering support only to the patron contradicted the school's basic concepts. Takuga states in the letter, "[A]ccompanying jishū who, in this way, with prejudiced minds, do not teach this principle and give the patrons the idea that they are on the same side, are not jishū."[103]

The conflict of loyalty between the leader of the Yugyō school and the patron continued to be a problem for the jishū of the order. The eleventh Yugyō hijiri, in *Jikū shojō*, refers to some jishū who broke the rules of the order by complying with the wishes of their patrons. Such behaviour rendered them no longer jishū.[104] However, while these individual jishū were no longer considered part of the Yugyō school fellowship, they were still considered to be jishū in the eyes of the patron and the society.

The letter from Takuga to Nikki Yoshinaga also provides insight into the activities of female jishū. Takuga notes: "During times of upheaval, jishū and their patrons hide their traces in the mountains and fields. When they do so, accompanying nuns (*shōban no nishū*) come to their aid. Both monks and nuns have the same value (*toku*). Even now, there are many who request [the assistance of] our monks and nuns."[105] Jishū nuns were active participants during time of war and assisted close to the battlefield. One may even speculate that some "shelter" was prearranged by these nuns for the injured or for non-combatants fleeing the battles. Several possibilities of aid come to mind: they could have offered spiritual comfort by chanting, provided food, acted as

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103 Takuga, *Shichidai shōnin hōgo*, 383. Translation by Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation,* 183.
104 Jikū, *Shichijō monjo*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 2, ed. Teihon jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 396. We will examine this edict in chapter two.
105 Takuga, *Shichidai shōnin hōgo*, 383. Thornton translates *toku* as "same principal." See *Charisma and Community Formation,* 183.

messengers, helped non-combatants escape, or given medical aid.[106]

Takuga explicitly asserted that, within their mixed gendered community, both monks and nuns demonstrated the same value, or toku, because they followed the same principle. Just as there was to be no discrimination in selecting those who received assistance, there was to be no prejudice against the jishū, monks and nuns.

From this it appears that, at this point in the order's history, nuns remained active and valued participants.[107] Takuga's role in the Yugyō school is pivotal in that he sought stability through the creation of doctrinal texts, religious tenets, debates, and codes of conducts for the growing membership, and even included instructions to educate patrons on the role of jishū. He had also sought stronger ties with the military government. These changes further distanced the basic structure of the group from that of Ippen. One alteration was the attitude toward the nuns. While Takuga affirmed the equal value of monks and nuns in his letter to Nikki, within his religious tenants, women and nuns were recorded as sinful and 'evil'.[108] Nuns were increasingly marginalized as the doctrines and tenants spread and were studied within the Yugyō school.

Throughout the development of the order that eventually grew into the Yugyō school, the legacy of Ippen and the school's connection to itinerancy was essential for its legitimacy. Ippen remained the charismatic figure and founder for the school. While Shinkyō had set roots for the mendicant itinerant order, Donkai had established yugyō as the defining function of the group, and Takuga stabilized the order through doctrinal

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[106] Luis Frois (1532-1597), a Portuguese Jesuit Missionary who arrived in Japan in 1563 wrote down his impressions of Japan in comparison to Europe. One entry states " Our nuns ordinarily do not go outside of the convent: The *bikuni* (nuns) of Japan are always going out, sometimes visiting military camps." A translation of Frois's commentaries can be found in *Topsy-Turvy 1585* by Robin d. Gill. Paraverse Press.

[107] We will discuss this in detail in chapter six.

[108] We will discuss this in detail in chapter five and six.

texts. The Yugyō continued to prosper as a religious order well into the eighteenth century.

Other Jishū Groups: Ikkō Shunshō and Jō'amidabutsu

While the Yugyō school was changing and redefining its practices and functions, there were numerous other jishū groups conducting similar religious practices. Just as the Kumano bikuni "actually belonged to several different and quite separate groups,"[109] the jishū in the thirteenth to fifteenth century were not exclusively Yugyō school members. Other jishū were part of the Ikkō's jishū group or belonged to the groups associated with Jō'amidabutsu or Koku'amidabutsu. Many other jishū groups existed, such as the one belonging to Chin'ichiō before the conversion to the Yugyō school.[110]

While Ippen and his jishū were traveling and spreading the message and importance of the name Amida Buddha, there were other bands of jishū who were also traveling the road. For example, the followers of Ikkō Shunshō (1239-1287) believed in the name Amida Buddha similar to that of Ippen and his fellowship of jishū. Ikkō's group conducted continuous chanting of the name, danced the nembutsu dance, and applied the –amidabutsu designation to their names. Other known itinerant figures who traveled with a group of jishū are Jō'amidabutsu Shinkan (1269-1341) and Koku'amidabutsu Zuishin (1314-1405).[111]

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109 Barbara Ruch, "Woman to Woman: Kumano bikuni Proselytizers in Medieval and Early Modern Japan," *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan,* ed. Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 541.
110 For more on the different jishū groups see, Onozawa, "Jishū towa nanika" *Jishū Bunka,* vol. 1 (2000 April): 41-58.
111 Very little is available for these figures. Both established head Jishū dōjō in Kyoto.

Ikkō traveled at the same time of Ippen. There is not much known about him. None of his own writings survive and his biographical pictorial scroll, *Ikkō shōnin den*, is believed to have been composed at least three centuries after his death.[112] The legend he left behind differs between regions and this, along with the other similarities between Ikkō and Ippen, led some to believe that Ikkō was a fictional figure.[113] It was not until the discovery of the pictorial scroll depicting Ikkō's death, titled *Ikkō shōnin rinjizu*, estimated to have been created not too long after his death that his existence was finally confirmed by scholars.[114] The following biography is largely based on Ōhashi Shunnō's research and writings on Ikkō.

Ikkō Shunshō was born the second son of Kusano Nagayoshi in current Fukuoka prefecture.[115] At the age of seven he went to study Tendai Buddhism at Engyōji, near today's Himeji city. After nine years of training, wishing to further develop his understanding of Pure Land Buddhism, he ventured to Rengeji in Kamakura. For another fifteen years he studied Chinzei Pure Land Buddhism under the monk Zen'a Ryōchū (1199-1287).

He began his itinerant mission in 1273, traveling north as far as current Akita

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Jō'amidabutsu; Shijō dōjō and Kokuamidabutsu; Ryōzen dōjō. We will discuss Jō'amidabutsu later in this chapter. For Kokuamidabutsu, see *Kokua shōnin den* in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 2, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 1547. The only research on Kokuamidabutsu's group is by Hayashi Yuzuru. See Hayashi Yuzuru, "Nanbokuchoki ni okeru Kyoto no jishū no ichidoki," *Nihon rekishi*, no. 403 (December, 1981): 36-55.

112 For a collection of Ikkō's biography, see Ogawa Jun'ichi, ed. *Ikkō Shōnin no Odenshūsei* (Shiga: Rengeji, 1986).

113 Ōhashi Shunnō, *Banba dōjō no ayumi* (Tokyo: Jodōshushi kenkyūkai, 1963), 34. He does not provide the names of those who claim Ikkō to be fictitious.

114 Ōhashi, *Banba dōjō*, 34-35. Also, Ōhashi Shunnō, *Rengeji* (Shiga: Rengeji, 1999), 31. For a colour print of the picture, see Jishū no bijutsu to bungeiten jikkōinkai, *Jishū no bijutsu to bungei* (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijūtsu, 1995), 61.

115 Ōhashi, *Banba dōjō*, 25. Ōhashi, however, states Ikkō was the fourth son in *Rengeji*, 27.

prefecture and as far south as Kagoshima. Similar to Ippen, he formed a fellowship during his journey. Both his monks and nuns were given the –amidabutsu designation, and were known as jishū. Ikkō propagated the belief that human life, similar to that of plants, repeats the cycle of birth, old age, sickness and death. The only eternal truth is the Name, *Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu*. His itinerant journey was to keep and preserve this Name within this world.[116] It is not known if Ikkō distributed amulets like Ippen. However, in 1274, after receiving divine sanction from the god of the Hachiman shrine in current Kagoshima prefecture, he began the nembutsu dance.

During his travel through current Shiga prefecture, Ikkō was asked by Dohi Motoyori, the military governor of the area and lord of Kamaha castle, to re-establish Rengeji in Banba, current Maibara city. Banba was located on the route connecting travelers from the capital to the east and it was here in 1284 that Ikkō created Banba dōjō. He chose his successor, Reichi'amidabutsu (Reichi'a), to continue on with the itinerant journey while he, Ikkō, stayed to live and preach from Banba dōjō until his death in 1287. Both Ikkō's school of Pure Land Buddhism and the itinerancy continued for several decades. Its influence spread widely, particularly in the northern region, concentrating in places such as current Yamagata prefecture and in Shiga prefecture where Banba dōjō was located.

Ippen and Ikkō were both religious figures based on the hijiri practice.[117] The schools that developed after these charismatic leaders shared similar practices and held the same name. This led to confusion between the Ikkō jishū school with Ippen jishū school. It became particularly problematic when in the seventeenth century the Tokugawa

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[116] Ōhashi, *Rengeji*, 29.
[117] Their doctrinal studies differed. Ippen studied the Seizan Pure Land Buddhism, Ikkō studied the Chinzei Pure Land Buddhism.

religious reform forced Ikkō jishū school to be placed under the Ippen school of Pure Land Buddhism, the Yugyō school.

Even before the religious reforms, the Ikkō jishū school had in the fifteenth century became synonymous with the Ikkō riots that were associated with True Pure Land Buddhism, Jōdo Shinshū. *Ikkō-ikki* revolts were led by peasants and farmers to launch organized attacks on their landlords. Rennyō (1415-1499), the eighth abbot of the Jōdo Shinshū sect, was connected with this movement. He was also responsible for the revitalization and popularization of Jōdo Shinshū, especially in the northern provinces. Many Ikkō jishū dōjō (and Yugyō school jishū dōjō) of the area had during this time converted to Rennyō teaching and to Jōdo Shinshū. Scholars such as Hayashi Yuzuru have theorized the success and intense spread of Rennyō's teaching in the Northern region was due to the already existing foundation and community set by the jishū.[118]

In Rennyō's eyes the association of the older Ikkō's school with his sect was a nuisance. He clarifies the difference in his writing: "that which is called Ikkō-shū [Ikkō sect], is the name of those of jishū-type. That is, Ippen and Ikkō. Its base is at Banba dōjō in Kōshū, this is Ikkō-shū...our name is Jōdo shinshū."[119]

Rennyo, in the fifteenth century, identified with both Ippen and Ikkō as founders of "jishū-type." The mention of Banba dōjō, rather than Fujisawa dōjō (or the Shichijō dōjō), as the leading dōjō suggests Ikkō school had a stronger presence within the Northern provinces.

By the seventeenth century, the Yugyō school had become the school of greater

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118 Hayashi Yuzuru, "Ikkō ikki izen; Kaga Noto no jishū," *Notoshiryō kenkyū* no. 10 (March, 1998).
119 Rennyo Shōnin *Jōgai ofumi,* vol. 4, p.108/138. Electronically available in the Japan National Diet Library, the Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan, Kindai Raiburari. Rennyo Shōnin, *Jōgai oumi,* http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/BIBibDetail.php.

influence with the Tokugawa, as it absorbed the Ikkō jishū within their sect. During the religious reform and continually afterwards, the Ikkō school attempted to 'free' themselves from being Ippen jishū. It was not until 1897 that Ikkō Shunshō was officially recognized as the founder of their school. Although they were unable to attain the independent religious right they hoped for, forty-five years later, in 1942, the Ikkō school finally achieved the second best choice: being accepted as part of the Pure land school.[120]

Another example of a popular jishū group during the fourteenth century is Jō'amidabutsu and his jishū group. Jō'amidabutsu Shinkan (1269-1341) was a charismatic itinerant hijiri who traveled with a fellowship. His biographical text, which survives from the late fifteenth century, was written by the priest and imperial prince Shōren-in Sonnō. According to this biography, Jō'amidabutsu was born in Kazusa province as the son of Makino Tarō. He became a disciple of the Ritsu Sect priest Ninsho (1217-1303) at Gokurakuji temple in Kamakura. While on a pilgrimage to Kumano Shrine, Jō'amidabutsu received divine inspiration and began journeying through the country as an itinerant monk until he settled in Kyoto at Shijō dōjō or Konrenji.[121]

Jō'amidabutsu was acquainted with Shinkyō, and he is mentioned in the Yugyō school documents.[122] It is stated that Jō'amidabutsu and Shinkyō encountered each other during their respective journeys and then held a three day doctrinal debate. Jō'amidabutsu subsequently formed a disciple-bond with Shinkyō. After their encounter Jō'amidabutsu formed Shijō dōjō in Kyoto. His fame in Kyoto was heightened when he provided three

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120 Ōhashi, *Banba dōjō*. For the conflict and assertion of rights during the Tokugawa period, see page 66. For the Meiji period, see page 107, and for Showa period, see pages 115 to 120.
121 Wakasugi Junji, "Konrenji zō, Jō'a shōnin eden ni tsuite," *Kyoto National Museum Bulletin*, no. 4 (March 1982).
122 See for example, *Jō'a shōnin den*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 2, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979).

amulets to Gofushimi's consort and she then successfully delivered the child who became the emperor Kōgon (1313-1364). Jō'amidabutsu was, in turn, rewarded with the *Shōnin* title, a title conferred by an emperor.

Jō'amidabutsu's jishū school and the Yugyō school were at first friendly. Jō'amidabutsu's connection with the imperial court and the title of Shōnin benefited the Yugyō school, as Shinkyō was also given the Shōnin title through Jō'amidabutsu's connection. Shinkyō also entrusted Jō'amidabutsu to distribute the amulets within Kyoto. Despite the amicable start of these two jishū schools, by the late fourteenth century, there was enough tension and rivalry between the two schools that, when the Ashikaga government forced the Shijō dōjō jishū to convert to the Yugyō school, the monks and nuns of Shijō dōjō burned down their own dōjō in defiance.[123]

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the trajectory of the formation of the Yugyō school in the fourteenth century. The Yugyō school eventually became the most influential jishū group and ultimately absorbed the other jishū schools, which were also gender inclusive.

In the fourteenth century, during the itinerant journeys and in the formation of practice halls, female jishū remained an integral part of the religious order and the co-participation of men and women in the school was a social reality. Distinctions were made between the male and female jishū; male members received the -*amidabutsu* designation while female

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[123] This incident is recorded in the contemporary court diary *Kanmon-gyōki*. Entry 1424, 8th month, 11th day. Also known as *Kanmon nikki*. *Kanmon-gyōki* in *Zoku gunsho ruijū, hokan*, 2. *Kanmon gyōki, jō* (Tokyo: Heibunsha, 1999), 450.

members received the *-butsubō* or *-ichibō* designation.[124] The *Jishū kakochō* was also separated by gender. Yet, the jishū nuns' roles were not that of a wife, mother, or widow, but of jishū. They believed in the salvation of all through the name Amida Buddha, and rather than secluding themselves in their homes, or in a small hut or convent, they lived and performed the religious services with their fellow jishū members.

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124 In this period it was common practice for the -amidabutsu name to be adopted by both male and female individuals. For example, Goodwin states that the adoption of the -amidabutsu name by both men and women indicates that even "gender distinctions might blur in pursuit of religious community." Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds,* 103.

Chapter 2
Jishū and Battlefields

The popularity of jishū throughout the country and across the diverse social classes made them one of the most attractive and accessible spiritual guides during the fourteenth century. As early as 1333, jishū accompanied warriors to battle as spiritual guides to conduct the last ten nembutsu at the point of death. This chapter explores the jishū activities near and around the battlefields. Drawing on documents from the Yugyō school leaders and the known medical practice of the time, I offer evidence of links between the jishū and combat medics known as kinsōi, and to childbirth.

An important function for many religious organizations was performing burial services, and these services were provided by the jishū schools and the Yugyō school of jishū in particular.[1] The jishū involvement was not limited to burial service, however. As mentioned, the jishū accompanied warriors to the battlefield where they provided the patron with the nembutsu chanting. With this chanting, the patron was assured a rebirth into the Western Pure Land if they died in battle. Within the Yugyō school the jishū that traveled into the battles with the warriors were referred to as *shōban no jishū* (accompanying jishū).[2] In addition to their primary duty of performing the ceremony of the ten nembutsu they also served as eye witnesses to the warrior's valor, acted as reporters to surviving relatives, and offered burial and prayers for all of the newly

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[1] See Kanda Chisato, "*Chūsei no dōjō ni okeru shi to shukke,*" *Shigaku zasshi* 97, no. 9 (1988):1-35.
[2] *Jikū shōnin (Yugyō jūichidai Ta'a)shojo* in *Chōrakuji no Meihō*, ed. Kyoto National Museum (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 70. Also in the *Shichijō monjo* collection in *Teihon Jishū shūten,* vol. 1, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 397.

departed spirits.

Epic war tales such as the *Taiheiki, Meitokuki,* and *Ōtō monogatari* have described the role of jishū in and around the battlefields. The account of the battle at fort Ōtō, *Ōtō monogatari,* for example, documents the acts of the Zenkōji *tsumado* jishū. The tale recounts the events of 1400 which started with the arrival of the new provincial governor, Ogasawara Nagahide in Shinano province.[3] Within two months of his appointment, a revolt organized by the locals led to a battle that defeated Ogasawara and his army. Ogasawara survived, fled to Kyoto, and once there resigned his post. Left behind was his cousin Banzai Nagakuni and some three hundred men who, when defeat was inevitable, decided to commit suicide. The following passage comes from the latter part of the story, after the battle and suicides had taken place:

> The Tsumado jishū of Zenkōji and similarly the holy men (hijiri) of Jūnenji heard that the men at Ōtō had committed suicide. They hurried there and inspected the miserable state of the battlefield. ... Those jishū gathered up one by one the corpses lying scattered here and there. Some they burnt and others they buried. They set up stupas and on each they bestowed nembutsu. Everywhere they raised the hope that Amida would come to lead them to paradise. More and more they acted with the mercy of Buddha. They went as far as to collect [the last] writings from the dead as souvenirs which were sent to the widows and orphans.[4]

In *Ōtō monogatari* the jishū appeared at the battlefield after the warriors had already died. The *Meitokuki* describes another role of jishū; in this tale we learn of a jishū

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[3] Present day Nagano prefecture.

[4] Translation from Sybil Thornton, "Epic and Religious Propaganda from the Ippen School of Pure Land Buddhism" in *Religions of Japan in Practice,* ed. George J. Tanabe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 190. The *ōtō gassen*, battle at fort *ōtō,* is recorded in the war tale titled *Ōtō gunki* (or *ōtō monogatari*). This story can be found in *Kassen bu*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 21, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi (Tokyo: Zoku Gunshoruijū Kanseikai, 1933), 355-375.

who accompanied a warrior into battle, followed the warrior until his death, and then returned to report the final moments of the his life to the warrior's wife.[5]

The jishū who accompanied warriors to the battlefield were there to ensure that the ten nembutsu were chanted before death. Shinkyō maintained that even a warrior who died with a weapon in hand would be Reborn in paradise as long as the nembutsu was chanted at the moment of his death; "if the believer of the nembutsu practices dies chanting the nembutsu, the very sound of the chant will wipe away the sins, and [one will] achieve rebirth in paradise."[6]

In the epic tales the jūnen is offered by jishū to the warriors before a battle or before an execution.[7] For example, in the *Taiheiki*, a Yugyō school jishū from Gumma prefecture administered the ten nembutsu for Okamoto Shinano-no-kami Tomotaka before he rode to his death in battle in 1363. Also mentioned in the tale is a hijiri who followed two warriors into battle, led them in the ten nembutsu at their death, and then carried their heads back to their own camp. Finally, he informed the warrior's relatives of their death and buried their heads.[8]

The *Taiheiki* also describes a scene of the ten nembutsu being administered before an execution. Sasuke Sadatoshi, prior to his execution, had a holy man stationed beside him who led him in chanting the ten nembutsu. Sasuke then asked the hijiri to return Sasuke's short sword to his wife and child as a memento, and then, with a final

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5 *Meitokuki,* ed. Tomikura Takujirō (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1942), 89.
6 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 174.
7 Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation,* 102. The following section is from her discussion on page 101-103. Based on *Taiheiki*, ed. Gotō Tanji, Kamada Kisaburō. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 34-36 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960). The first section can be found in the third volume, page 438. The second and third story can be found within the first volume, page 201 and 387.
8 Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation,* 101. She suggests Shinkyō himself assigned this hijiri (jishū) as chaplain.

chanting of the ten nembutsu, he exposed his own neck for the executioner's sword.[9]

The edict called *Jikū shojō*, composed by the eleventh Yugyō hijiri, Jikū (1329 -1412), defined the purpose and role of the Yugyō school of jishū when they acted as *dōdō no jishū* (same road jishū). This 1399 edict was circulated among the jishū who would accompany patrons into battle. Jikū began his document with a report that a previous leader had already sent a letter providing codes of conduct for the jishū that accompanied the armies. This previous letter, Jikū reasoned, must not have been circulated, for many jishū seem unaware of it and have been acting as they please. These actions, although done in ignorance, were against the religious code and would result in the jishū losing the privilege of rebirth. Jikū then commanded that the articles that he laid out in his letter were to be followed and understood by both the jishū and their patrons, if they disobeyed these commands, both the jishū and the patron would be subjected to suffering.[10]

The articles are divided into five sections and list the important duties and guidelines the jishū were to follow. Jishū were to be primarily the administrators of the *jūnen* (ten *nembutsu*) at the time of death as their goal was to secure rebirth in paradise for those on the battlefield. They were not to act as messengers for military purposes, but only act to save those in need. They were never to touch items such as bows and arrows that were used to kill. They were to do their best to follow the regular jishū rituals and ceremonies. And, finally, Jikū stated; "As you depart for battle, remember the following. When you became a jishū, you turned over both your body and mind to the Chishiki.

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9 *Taiheiki*, 387. For an English translation see Helen Craig McCullough, *The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 337.
10 Jikū, *Jikū shōnin shojō*, 70. Another translation of this edict can be found in Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 181.

With this connection, you are aware of your rebirth in this lifetime. Make sure to provide [the nembutsu] for your master's life as well as your own."[11]

Of the tasks that the jishū who accompanied the warriors to the battlefield were to perform, the task of highest importance was to make sure the ten nembutsu were chanted. Jikū was concerned that the jishū be able to remain neutral so they could fulfill this task. The jishū had already secured free passage through gates and tolls and through military barriers. Jikū writes*:* "When road passage is difficult [due to warfare] jishū are not [stopped] for inspection. Therefore, letters concerning matters of warfare [on bow and arrows] are entrusted to be carried through. This must never be carried out. However, if it is concerning family [wife and children] or in general to rescue others then there is no objection."[12] This privilege of free passage could be used for saving or rescuing non-combatants and the returning of final words and mementos to the warrior's survivors.

Jikū was also adamant that jishū stay away from articles that were designed to kill. He agreed that there were times when a jishū could hold the patron's armor, but this was to be restricted to articles that were meant to protect the body. Jikū made it clear that the jishū must never hold weapons. This restriction was for their own safety, for it was important to be able to prevent accusations that jishū acted as spies or as active members of a military faction. While the jishū did have a close relationship with the patron, it was against the jishū ideal for them to take sides or be associated with one specific clan. If they acted as military couriers or held weapons it would make the jishū involvement appear decisively non-neutral. The jishū likely needed to uphold their pure image among the laypeople of being strictly religious practitioners.

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[11] Jikū, *Shichijō monjo*, 397.
[12] Ibid., 396.

Although a jishū's role was to provide the patron with the ten nembutsu and to see to the patron's religious welfare, a jishū was still, first and foremost, to be held to the oath they had made to the Chishiki. The position of the jishū, however, in the eyes of the patron, was that of a religious guide and that of a personal servant.

Healing the Injured

The attempted Mongol invasions of 1268 and 1281 caused a shift in military recruitment policies. Up until that period, "men who enjoyed military status could exploit it without having to prove much on the battlefield".[13] Warfare changed after the Mongol's attempted invasions. In the new order anyone capable of fighting was welcomed and men without previous military experience could even become military leaders. These autonomous warriors tended to align themselves with the side that offered the best reward and compensation.[14]

Not everyone welcomed the new recruitment process: Higuchi Kunio's research, based on the documents recovered from within the Fudōmyōō statue at Kongōji, a Shingon sect temple, provides evidence that not everyone even wished to join the fighting.[15] Fourteenth century letters from warriors at camp to their families reveal discontentment and reluctance. Warriors were kept under a threat. Should they disobey orders or not participate in battle, their land and property would be confiscated. Should

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[13] Jeffrey Mass, "Of Hierarchy and Authority at the End of Kamakura," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World,* ed. Jeffrey Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997),33.
[14] Thomas Conlan, "Largesse and Limits of Loyalty in the Fourteenth Century" in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World,* ed. Jeffrey Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 42.
[15] Higuchi Kunio, "Nihon chūsei no nairan to chinkon," *Rekishi hyōron,* no. 628 (August 2002): 28-40.

the warrior try to escape from a battle he would be captured and returned to the battlefield. One's life was not the only thing at stake in war, participation in the war caused a heavy financial burden on the individuals. Higuchi Kunio mentions one warrior who, having lost his own helmet and horse had to borrow from another warrior.[16]

Methods for treating battlefield wounds became a subject of interest and texts specializing in such treatments began to appear around the early fourteenth century. These types of treatment that specialized in battlefield wounds caused by metal weapons, such as metal-tipped arrows and swords, were termed *kinsō.* The *kin* stood for metal and the *sō* stood for treatment. Specialists in this type of treatment were hence known as *kinsōi*. The *kinsōi* were active during the late fifteenth and sixteenth century.

Records by the Kinsōi texts give us some examples of the medical practices on the battlefield.[17] For example a weapon would be removed from a wound with ointment (*tomon*), followed by the application of *ninjin* (*radix ginseng*) or/and *amagusa* (*radix glycyrrhizal*) to stop the bleeding. Then they would wash the wound with *hakka* (peppermint), *ōhako* (*plantago asiatica*), or/and *dokudami* (Chameleon plant – *houthuynia cordata*), and if necessary the wound was sewn together. In the case of wounds to the intestines, the area was carefully washed, and the excrement of a child or baby was applied as a plaster.[18] Their basic instruments were five needles, two causeries,

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[16] Ibid., 36. These letters are in "*Takahata fudōji-nai monjo hen,*" *Nihonshi shiryōshū.* 1993.

[17] Example of Kinsōi text are *Kinsō Hiden* (Secrets of Kinsō) from 1510 and *Gairyo Saizan*, (Detailed Look on Surgical Treatment) from 1607. See Andrew Edmund Goble, "War and Injury: The Emergence of Wound Medicine in Medieval Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 3 (autumn 2005): 297-338.

[18] See Fujikawa Yū, *Tōyō igaku: igaku bunka shi,* vol.1 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1980), 183. and Hattori Toshiyo, *Muromachi azuchi momoyama jidai igakushi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1971), 279.

two iron scoops, scissors, hair-tweezers, a horn scoop, a sickle, a knife and a spoon.[19]

Hattori Toshirō, in his work on the medical history in Japan states that "the basis of the kinsōi were the members of the Ji-sect. Their religious activities on the battlefield eventually led to personalized physicians treating cuts and abscesses, to a specialization of Kinsōi and surgeons."[20] To support his claim he quotes a section from the late sixteenth century *Ihon odawara-ki* (Variant chronicles of Odawara) that links the Yugyō school jishū with the kinsōi:

> In general, from the times of the old, the jishū monks have trained in waka and have treated battle wounds. They have been requested to accompany those to the frontline, treat battle wounds, and deal with the corpses. Also, they accept the last ten nembutsu.[21]

This passage is recorded in the *renga* poetry section and refers to the highly accomplished renga-poet known as Ai'a from Odawara, Fukuda temple. Another link, this one directly related to the Yugyō school jishū is found on a cenotaph from the early fifteen century. This cenotaph still stands today at the head Ji-sect temple Shōjōkōji in Fujisawa. The inscription reads,

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19 See Tsuge Hideomi, *Historical Development of Science and Technology in Japan.* (Tokyo: Japan Cultural Society, 1968), 34. The actual treatment given on the battlefield used local resources and plants found in the area. Scarcity or expense of certain herbs and drugs made it necessary to substitute products readily found in the area for better known, if not necessarily more effective, herbal drugs.

20 Hattori, *Muromachi azuchi momoyama jidai igakushi no kenkyū*, 263. Also in *Sekai Daihyakka jiten* (World encyclopedia), the entry on kinsōi states; "the origin of the kinsōi is believed to originate with the medical treatment provided by the monks of the Ji-sect who accompanied the warriors into battle." Souda Hajime, "Kinsōi" in *Sekai Daihyakka jiten* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), 604. Most dictionaries only have an entry for kinsō, not of Kinsōi.

21 "Treated weapon wounds" is a translation of *kinsō. Ihon odawara ki*, in *Kokushi sōsho* 3, ed. Kurokawa Mamichi (Tokyo: Kokushi kenkyū kai, 1915): 359-360. Also in Hattori, *Muromachi azuchi momoyama jidai igakushi no kenkyū,* 448.

Namuamidabutsu

A war began on the 10th month 6th day year 1416 that lasted to 1417.
Here and there enemies and allies lost their lives by sword, arrows, water and fire. May the departed souls of all the people and animals reach rebirth in Pure Land. Those who pass this cenotaph, secular or lay, should chant the ten *nembutsu*.
10th month 6th day year 1418.[22]

Hattori Toshirō offers this inscription as evidence that the Yugyō school jishū members gathered or guided the wounded to the dōjō where they provided medical care, buried the dead, and constructed monuments for the departed souls.[23]

Despite the problems with these pieces of evidence, it has been noted that Yugyō school jishū did accompany warriors to the battlefield as shōban no jishū and that aid was provided by the nuns. It is reasonable to speculate that the aid provided would have included medical attention. In fact, the connection between jishū and medical practice is well established. In the narrative scroll painting *Tengu-zōshi*, dated 1296, there is a satirical scene showing nuns gathering around Ippen to receive his urine. The commentary states: "Look at all those people seeking urine!" "That is the blessed urine of the holy man [Ippen], it is medicine for all illnesses."[24] Kanai Kiyomitsu, referring to this scene and narration, theorizes that the populace of the time expected nembutsu hijiri to cure illnesses.[25] Ippen would have been no exception. Although the *Tengu-zōshi* depicted Ippen in a mocking manner, the scene does suggest Ippen, and likely other hijiri,

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22 See for example, Shōjōkōji pamphlet, Takano Osamu, ed. *Yugyō-ji*, (Fujisawa: Shōjōkōji, 2004). Also in Hattori, *Muromachi azuchi momoyama jidai igakushi no kenkyū,* 447.
23 Hattori, *Muromachi azuchi momoyama jidai igakushi no kenkyū,* 446.
24 *Tengu-zōshi*, 65 -66.
25 Kanai, *Ippen to jishū kyōdan*, 123.

were probably believed to have the ability to cure illnesses.[26] The Yugyō school of jishū had promoted their connection with the hijiri practice, especially Ippen, and thus likely adopted the 'service' required by such tradition.

Sunagawa Hiroshi describes Ippen as a "physician hijiri."[27] Medical knowledge was considered a form of scholarship and many warriors, monks, and scholars studied the fundamentals of medicine from classical texts.[28] Ippen was likely to have had access to medical texts due to his membership in a warrior household. Sunagawa Hiroshi gives an example of this by quoting the section of *Hijiri-e* where a man who had tried to rape a female member from Ippen's fellowship was visited by a monk in a dream.[29] This monk sentenced him to damnation for having troubled the nembutsu practitioners. When the man woke up, he found himself affected by paralysis and unable to move or work. The man's parents went to Ippen to beg help for their son. After some persuasion, Ippen went to see the man and cured him of his paralysis. Sunagawa theorized that this section was incorporated in the *Hijiri*-e to show Ippen's supernatural ability as a healer.[30] Shinmura Taku interprets this same section as a demonstration of the connection between the nembutsu practitioner and the Buddha. The message is that those who try to hurt a practitioner would be punished and that the nembutsu had the power to remove and cure illnesses.[31] Hijiri, with their 'super-human' ability, were perceived to have the power to heal.

In 1341, Kai'amidabutsu expressed his contempt for those jishū who claimed to

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26 Ibid.
27 Sunagawa Hiroshi, ed., *Ippen hijiri e no sōgōteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2002), 172, 180.
28 The most important text was *Ishinpō* by Tanba Yasuyori (912-995).
29 Found in Shōkai, *Ippen hijiri-e,* 51. Vol. 5, section 4.
30 Sunagawa, *Ippen hijiri e no sōgōteki kenkyū*, 173-4.
31 Shinmura Taku, "*Jishū yugyō hijiri ni okeru yamai,"* in *Ippen hijiri-e to chūsei no kōkei,* ed. Ippen hijiri-e kenkyū kai (Tokyo: Arina Shobō, 1993), 156.

be physicians without sufficient medical knowledge. In *Bōhishō* he wrote of jishū who would receive rewards for their medical services, but their lack of 'true' skill led them to kill those they claimed to help.[32] This criticism implies that there were jishū who did practice as physicians. According to Shinmura Taku, the jishū were the most recognizable monk-physicians from the fourteenth century, followed by Zen monks.[33]

Jishū, Kinsōi and Childbirth

Hattori Toshirō's claim that the Ji-sect was at the foundation for the specialization of the kinsōi stems from these known medical practices by various jishū. He however, overlooked the gender inclusive aspect of the jishū. This gender inclusiveness, I believe, offers an additional link between the jishū and kinsōi. Kinsōi's techniques closely resemble those needed for childbirth, a point noted in the early kinsōi texts.[34] Furthermore, several kinsōi became specialist in midwifery once the battles were over. Kinsōi texts specifically state that the type of physical and mental shock, dizziness and delirium an individual went through after sustaining a battle wound was the same as

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32 Kai'amidabutsu, *Bōhishō*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten,* vol. 2 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 725.

33 Shinmura, *Kodai iryō kanninsei no kenkyū*, 351. A century later, we encounter Bon'a from Sōrinji, a jishū optician in *Rokuon nichiroku* (Daily recording from Rokuon). The names of physicians from the Muromachi period included: Sho'a, physician to Ashikaga Yoshiakira (1330-1367), and Su'a, physician to emperor Shōkō (1401-1428). We also know of a kinsō physician, Raku'a, a house vassal of Uramatsu Sukeyasu, who attended the wounds inflicted on Sanjō Genshi, consort of Go-En'yū (1358-1393). Other known physician names are Shō'a, Sei'a, and Ku'a. It is not conclusive had these physician been jishū. The *Jishū kakochō* lists a few specialists involved in healing or medicine.

34 See Goble's article, "War and Injury." For example, *Kinsō ryōji shō*, (On healing incised wounds) written around 1357, and *Kihō* (Decom Formulas) from 1391. Both are collections of treatments and care for battlefield wounds, gathered mostly through oral sources and traditions. *Kinsō ryōji shō*, for example, states that the work was derived from information of several hundred people who had gained experience in treating wounds from the Genkō era, 1331-1334.

that a woman experienced after delivering a child.[35] Kinsōi were "interested in stopping bleeding, dealing with blood loss, and preventing infection and sepsis and coping with the problem that those wounded might go into shock."[36] To quote Andrew Edmund Goble, "The tendency to identify parallels in the treatment of wounds and women's medical problems is striking."[37]

It is conceivable that many female jishū participated in, or witnessed the delivery process. The knowledge gained through the experiences of the delivery of babies, I suggest, was then transferred to the task of treating those injured during battle. The actual practice of midwifery during the medieval period remains unknown; although the medical texts do refer to pregnancy and delivery there is nothing written about those who physically assisted at child birth.[38]

Scenes of childbirth from medieval pictorial sources suggest that, within the birth-room, there were typically two to three female supporters. A birth-room scene can be found in the pictorial scrolls *Kitano tenjin engi*, *Gakizōshi*, *Yūzu nembutsu engi*, and *Hikohohodeminomikoto emaki*.[39] In all four scenes the women giving birth is shown

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35 Goble, "War and Injury," 310. From *Kinsō ryōji shō* (On healing incised wounds).
36 Ibid., 324.
37 Ibid., 310.
38 Regarding childbirth and the notion of *kegare,* pollution, see Hitomi Tonomura, "Birth-giving and Avoidance Taboo: Women's Body versus the Historiography of *Ubuya*," *Japan Review*, 19 (2007): 3- 45.
One mention of kegare relating to women's menstrual-cycle in the Yugyō school texts is in the *Engi-e* scroll. The section describes Shinkyō and his jishū's visit to Ise Shrine. As a sacred place, Ise Shrine forbids any kegare, pollution, to enter its space. Here, Shinkyō dismisses any hesitation by those concerned over the nuns who were menstruating, and they all enter the shrine without concern or consequences. *Yugyō Shōnin engi-e*, 80.
39 *Kitano tenjin engi,* in *Nihon emaki taisei ,* 21, ed. Komatsu Shigemi (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1978). *Gakizōshi, jigokuzōshi, yamai no sōshi, kusōshi emaki,* in *Nihon emaki taisei,* 7. ed. Komatsu Shigemi (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1977). *Yūzu nembutsu engi,* in Z*oku nihon emaki taisei,* 11. ed. Komatsu Shigemi (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1983). *Hikohohodeminomikoto emaki, urashima myōjin engi,* in *Nihon emaki taisei,* 22, ed. Komatsu Shigemi (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1979).

being directly assisted by two or four women and having women chanters stationed near by. Except for the *Yūzu nembutsu engi* in which a monk appears to be facing the woman in labour, no male physicians are pictured close by. It appears, then, that women assisted the birth while the male physician and religious monks remained out of sight. The men's roles would have consisted of offering suggestions, medicinal prescriptions, and the blessing of the Buddha. It appears women alone dealt directly with childbirth. Medical texts that were read by men did address the issue, but the birth experience itself was off limits to them. Even physicians did not physically assist the women in labour, but instead provided instructions from outside the screen doors.

Medical texts did offer sections on pregnancy and delivery. For example, there was an obstetrical book titled *Sansei yuijū shō* written by Ken'a around 1318.[40] This text used Buddhist texts to explain the methods for delivering and included information such as how to change the gender of the child from female to male by chanting specific sutras.[41] *Ton'isho,* the vernacular medical text, recommended treatment for various conditions and included several chapters on women's medicine that dealt with pregnancy, delivery and the aftermath.

We also can find names of physicians who 'attended' births. Records of birth of the Ashikaga family, titled *Osanjo nikki*, recorded births within the Shogun's household from 1434 to 1560 and included the names of the physician, the religious attendants, and the location of the birth. However, physicians would not actually attend birth, but rather

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[40] Ken'a was a monk from Shōmyōji in Kamakura. See Sugitatsu Yoshikazu, *Osan no rekishi* (Tokyo: Shueisha, 2002), 79.

[41] Sugitatsu, *Osan no rekishi*, 79. This concept of changing the female gender to male is mentioned in *Ishinpō*, the classic medical text by Tanba as well.

prescribed herbal medicine.[42] Those who physically assisted the mother and baby into the world remain unknown. When complications arose, moreover, it remains unclear if the male physician physically assisted or not. During the birth of the fifth Kamakura Shogun, Yoritsugu (1239-1256), Ōmiya-dono, who was already in labour, was transferred out of the appointed birth house of Ōkura to the physician's house.[43] This suggests the physician's house had something that was beneficial to labour, especially when it proved complicated.

The reliance on divine force was considered an extremely important part of the birth process. Many Buddhist monks were summoned to the birth where they would offer prayers for a safe delivery. In addition to the attendance of and chanting by Buddhist preachers, pictorial scrolls depict shamans also dancing and chanting at the scene of labour. Shinkan Jō'amidabutsu (1275-1341) of Shijō dōjō is one clear example of a jishū summoned to spiritually assist a childbirth. Jō'amidabutsu was summoned to conduct prayers for Empeor Gofushimi's consort, Kōgimon'in (1292-1357)[44], who was having a difficult labour. Jō'amidabutsu, in addition to chanting prayers, gave Kōgimon'in three amulets to consume. The infant was born holding three amulets in his left hand. As noted earlier, the success of the safe delivery and of a healthy child provided Jō'amidabutsu with the Shōnin title. While there is no direct evidence, it is possible nuns from Shijō dōjō came with Jō'amidabutsu. Jishū nuns assisting the actual labour would also explain the amulets in the infant's hand.[45]

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[42] Ibid., 94.
[43] Suzuki Rika, "Muromachi shōgunke no osannjo," *Tochigi-shigaku* (March 1993), quoted in Sugitatsu, *Osan no rekishi*, 81.
[44] Also known as Saionji Neishi (Yasuko). Mother of Emperor Kōgon and Emperor Kōmyō.
[45] For the story of the delivery, see Wakasugi Junji, "Konrenji zō, Jō'a Shōnin eden ni tsuite," in *Kyoto National Museum Bulletin*, no. 4 (March 1982): 161. Section 11.

The jishū communities, both within Kyoto and those of the Yugyō school jishū which had practice halls throughout the archipelago, were predominantly a community that was supported for and by the larger community. As seen with Jō'amidabutsu's jishū group, within a community it seems reasonable to assume jishū dōjō leaders and jishū members were called upon to not only chant the nembutsu but to aid in the physical labour as well. As noted earlier, both jishū nuns and monks also assisted those wounded on the battlefield. Since some jishū members had given birth, it is possible that the experience and knowledge the female members gained through their assistance at the birth-process was used in a more general way and thus were able to help those injured in battle.[46]

Conclusion

The Yugyō school was not the only jishū school in the medieval period. The era was host to a wide variety of nembutsu practitioners who were called jishū by their contemporaries. Most of these schools used the same designation for their religious names, -amidabutsu, and shared an absolute faith in the importance of chanting the name Amida Buddha. During the increase of battles and conflicts, many jishū assured the fighting warriors of salvation, of a decent burial, and of reporting back their last moments

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Available on line: Kyoto National Museum. http://www.kyohaku.go.jp/jp/kankou/gaku/pdf_data/4/004_siryou_b.pdf

46 The fourteenth Yugyō hijiri, Taikū (1375-1439), for example, explicitly banned children conceived by jishū from becoming part of the order. Also, within the travel record of Song Hŭigyŏng (1376-1446) from 1420, we are informed that, should a jishū nun become pregnant, she would return to her family's home. After the child was delivered she would once again return to the dōjō. We will discuss these in chapter five.

to family.

The Yugyō school jishū, both monks and nuns, accompanied the warriors to battle; they provided spiritual comfort to the warriors and tried to save the lives of those who were victims of the battles. As examined already in chapter one in Takuga's letter to Nikki Yoshinaga, female jishū were participants in the battlefield activities, and that many requested their assistance.[47] An exchange of experiences of medical knowledge from the front lines and from that of child labour, is but one of the many possibilities this gender inclusive religious group offers in furthering our understanding of medieval Japan.

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[47] See chapter one, pages 52 and 53.

Chapter 3
Life of Yugyō

This chapter will examine the transformation of the Yugyō school itinerant practices. Over the centuries, although the group continued to identify itself strongly with the tradition of itinerancy, gradually their 'itinerant' journey became a carefully planned tour. What do we know of the actual journeys? And what of the members who were on these traveling missions? To this end, the second section examines the limited, but interesting accounts of life on the road.



Fig. 5 Scene of Ippen and his fellowship. Source: *Ippen Shōnin eden, Nihon no emaki* 20, ed. Komatsu Shigemi (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1988), 133.

Framing the Yugyō School's Itinerant Practices: An Outline

The initial yugyō members were, as depicted in the *Hijiri-e* and *Engi-e*, a group of rugged mendicants who traveled the land wearing simple religious robes and carrying limited personal possessions. While the particulars of the itinerant journey remains unclear this general style is believed to have continued for some time. Early in the formation of what was to become the Yugyō school, Shinkyō identified himself as the

Chishiki and identified the Chishiki as the Buddha. Encountering Shinkyō and receiving an amulet from him was therefore, the same as receiving it from the Buddha. Later Yugyō hijiri maintained this idea that the Chishiki was the Buddha. The seventh Yugyō hijiri, Takuga for example, explains to the jishū making their oath that they "must know that the gong [you strike] to make your vow is the forty-eight vows, [whereby] the Buddha and the Chishiki become a single body." [1] And by this promise of faithfulness to the Chishiki/Buddha; "therefore the monks and nuns of jishū became non-retrogressing bodhisattva."[2] The band of itinerant travelers was considered to be a holy procession of the Buddha and the bodhisattvas that toured the provinces, villages and dōjō.

The Yugyō school gradually gained prominence and found patronage. This growth was especially strong among the warrior class to whom Shinkyō had directed his teaching. The order expanded dramatically during the conflict between the Northern and Southern Courts (1336 -1392). This conflict led to new members and support from defeated warriors and widows. While the itinerant practice continued during these turbulent times, a precaution was made regarding the number of jishū that traveled with the Yugyō hijiri. The sixth Yugyō hijiri, I'chin (1277-1355), remarked to Takuga, the seventh Yugyō hijiri, that one should leave many of the jishū at the dōjō and travel in small numbers since it was an unstable and difficult time for yugyō.[3]

Access to food was one of the major obstacles during the first generations of

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[1] Furthermore, the vow taken to become a jishū makes clear the link of Chishiki as Buddha. "Although you make the oath [to entrust your salvation] to the Chishiki, the one relied upon is the Buddha in human form. Therefore, you must know that the gong [you strike] to make your vow is the forty-eight vows, [whereby] the Buddha and the Chishiki become a single body." Takuga, *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, 251.

[2] Takuga, *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, 252. Takuga also states that "the jishū of our order who practice the virtue of *kimyō* … are bodhisattva." Ibid., 251.

[3] I'chin, *Shichidai shōnin e rokudai shōnin yori*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten,* vol. 1(Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 353.

yugyō. Some jishū appear to have had a special skill in acquiring and preparing food in even the most difficult of situations. When the fourth Yugyō hijiri, Donkai, and his group were suffering from starvation the nun Gen'ichibō, under the orders of Chitoku, arrived to offer Donkai food. Donkai apparently refused the food and claimed that he could not eat while the rest were suffering. Chitoku's letter refutes Donkai's logic and insists that,

> The late hijiri [Ippen], on yugyō in the past, has said that as example by the Buddhist teaching, out of one hundred people if by counting ninety-nine people do not eat and only you yourself do, nothing is to be thought about this. Also, if the ninety-nine people eat and you yourself do not, nothing is to be thought of this either.[4]

This small group of travelers gradually increased. By the twenty-fourth Yugyō hijiri (1460-1526) it had expanded to include not only eighty monks and nuns but also porters, horses and even outcasts, all who joined the yugyō mission.[5] By the sixteenth century the route was carefully planned out and the dominant warlords, or their vassals, were responsible for providing food, shelter and even horses for the large entourage.

The mendicant itinerant group whose members were to have only twelve belongings had, over the centuries, transformed into a fabulous parade accompanied by porters, horses and palanquins. Access to food was no longer a concern as warrior patronage and support made the yugyō travel a secure venture. For example, in 1583 when Dōnen (1518-1587), the thirty-first Yugyō hijiri, and his jishū were traveling through Oi to Tonogōri in current Miyazaki prefecture, the various vassals along the route

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[4] Chitoku," *Yugyō sandai Chitoku Shōnin shojō* 5 " *Shichijō monjo*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 1 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 392. Also in *Chōrakuji no Meihō*, pages 24-25 and page 68.

[5] Butten, *Yugyō nijūyon sō onshūgyō ki*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten,* vol. 2 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 1470.

had to provide them with three hundred pack horses, forty sacks of rice, vegetables, and firewood.[6]

This burden on the local populace continued in ensuing centuries. When the fifty-fourth Yugyō hijiri and his entourage traveled through Hamada city, in Shimane prefecture in 1795, a local man named Sawazu Tadazaemon recorded the supplies demanded by the group. Each of the two towns they passed by had to supply four hundred porters, forty-five horses, and ten palanquins.[7]

Helen Hardacre makes note of how exceptional the Ji-sect was in the Tokugawa period. Unlike most sects which depended on fees from parishioners and for funerals and ancestral rites, the Ji-sect received offerings during the carefully planned and shogun-endorsed travels of the Yugyō hijiri and his entourage. "On the basis of this highly structured enactment of the Buddhist ideal of homelessness, the Ji sect was able to support itself, even in the absence of the large number of branch temples."[8]

During the Tokugawa period every new Yugyō hijiri was issued a document licensing his tour and entitling him to the use of fifty post-horses and the man-power to take care of the horses.[9] In addition, the local lords of each territory the yugyō train passed through were required to feed and house the travelers, a task that often included rebuilding and refurbishing temple apartments.[10]

This official sanction and protection was based on precedence set by the Ashikaga shogunate. The very first order came from Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386-1428).

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6 Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 134.
7 Kanai Kiyomitsu, "Mikan kinsei yugyō sogei shiryō kaisetsu 4," *Jishū kyōgaku nenpō* 32 (2004): 179-180.
8 Helen Hardacre, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 43.
9 Takano Osamu, *Jishū kyōdanshi* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2003), 134.
10 Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 28.

Initially, Yoshimochi recognized the Yugyō school as an independent Pure Land Buddhist school. He prohibited the conversion of any other Buddhist sects or orders to the Yugyō school, as well as, in turn, prohibiting any Yugyō school dōjō to convert to other Buddhist sects or orders.[11] In addition, in 1416, Yoshimochi issued an order for the *shugo*, military governors, to allow the Yugyō school jishū to pass through their territory without paying a fee or encountering any state-sanctioned trouble. This established a precedent whereby each new Shogun issued a document which included the statement; "the passage of the jishū of the Shōjōkōji, Fujisawa dōjō, and Yugyō Konkōji, Shichijō dōjō, and their porters, palanquins and horses are, by reason of this official seal and stamp, to pass from the capital through the various provinces without hindrance and without being charged a toll at the barriers."[12]

The last extant document to the Yugyō hijiri by the Ashikaga government was composed in 1513 by the tenth Shogun, Yoshitane (1466-1523).

> Because the Yugyō Shōnin will be on circuit throughout the provinces, the Military Governor of each province is to provide board and fifty pack horses with handlers for transport in accordance with previous duties. These orders issued according to instructions mentioned above.[13]

The Tokugawa regime also sanctioned the Yugyō school and by this time their ritual itinerancy. Using the orders by the Ashikaga government, the Yugyō school continued to

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[11] See Tachibana Shundō, *Jishūshi ronkō* (Hozōkan, 1975), 256. For an English translation, see Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 126.

[12] Kan Tatsuto, ed. *Ashū komonjo* 5, no. 1888 (Tokyo: Kanagawa kyōiku inkai, 1971): 96. It was sealed by Hosokawa Mitsumoto. An example of a future order by the Ashikaga shogun can be found in *Ashikaga Yoshimochi Shogun migyōsho*, in *Jishū chūsei monjo shirōshū*, ed. Takano Osamu (Tokyo: Shirogin gyosho, 1991), 18. Document 29.

[13] Translation by Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 128. From Chiren Shōnin in *Gorekidai keifu*, *Shomin shinkō*, 244.

benefit from the official sanctions by the government.

The same year the order from Yoshitane was issued the Fujisawa dōjō burned down during the battle between Hōjō Sōun (1432-1519) and Miura Dōsun (?-1516). This left the Fujisawa dōjō leader and his jishū without permanent residence until 1607 when the dōjō was finally rebuilt. Even with the absence of a Kantō based head dōjō, the Yugyō school continued to be an important recognized school of Pure Land Buddhism. The Fujisawa dōjō leader, despite lacking a Fujisawa dōjō, continued to be known as Fujisawa Shōnin (or Tōtaku Shōnin) and sought permanent residency in various temples throughout the provinces.[14]

The dual leadership of the Yugyō school was confirmed by the Ashikaga government when it recognized as leaders both the Fujisawa dōjō leader and the Yugyō hijiri (or Shōnin), the latter with its headquarters at Shichijō dōjō in Kyoto. This acknowledgement and support continued until the Meiji government when the official position of Buddhism as a state-sponsored religion ended. In 1885 the Ji-sect lost government support of yugyō and the positions of Fujisawa Shōnin and Yugyō hijiri (Shōnin) were, by law, combined. The practice halls were reduced from 1008 to 498 and jishū members were then permitted to marry, eat meat, drink liquor and grow hair. [15]

The yugyō practices defined first by Shinkyō and later refined by Donkai had for centuries reached out to everyone in the archipelago. As Sybil Thornton describes, the

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14 For example, the twenty-second Fujisawa Shōnin resided in current Shiga prefecture, the twenty-fourth resided in current Ōita prefecture, the twenty-fifth and thirtieth were in Tsuruga, current Fukui prefecture (although in different temples), the thirty-first resided in current Miyazaki prefecture and finally the thirty-second, before moving back to Fujisawa dōjō, resided in current Ibaraki prefecture.
I am following Sybil Thornton's practice of referring to the leader at Fujisawa dōjō as Fujisawa Shōnin. However, the official reading within the Ji-sect is Tōtaku Shōnin.
15 Ohashi, *Ippen*, 243-244.

yugyō mission benefited almost everyone. The jishū benefited from the fundraising, the shogunate was able to demonstrate its power, and the Daimyō were able to demonstrate their loyalty through their reception of the Yugyō hijiri and his large entourage.[16] The local dōjō also benefited as they were able to request repairs and funding for their upkeep in anticipation of the Yugyō mission's stay.

The principle of the yugyō ideal was based on Ippen's mendicant pilgrim journey to save each and every sentient being through the name, Amida Buddha. This practice was the basis of the yugyō philosophy and continued to remain so over the centuries. The style of yugyō changed, however, based on the needs of the government and the society at large. The once mendicant group, in which originally some members traveled barefoot, was, by the Tokugawa period, traveling in style and without fear of hunger or lack of shelter.

The Female Itinerants: Shōichibō, Myōichibō and Gen'ichibō

Details of the yugyō as it was practiced throughout the centuries remain obscure. The limited materials that document the yugyō practice is largely restricted to accounts of travels with the Yugyō hijiri. Certain female members are mentioned in the source by chance, but their appearance does not seem to be especially significant nor does the source make any distinction between the female and the male members.

The few documents that do survive, strongly suggest yugyō was conducted by both genders. A letter to the Yugyō mission in 1400 is addressed "To the Yugyō

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[16] Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 179.

community members, monks, nuns. By Ta'amidabutsu."[17] The two characters for monks and for nuns are recorded side by side.

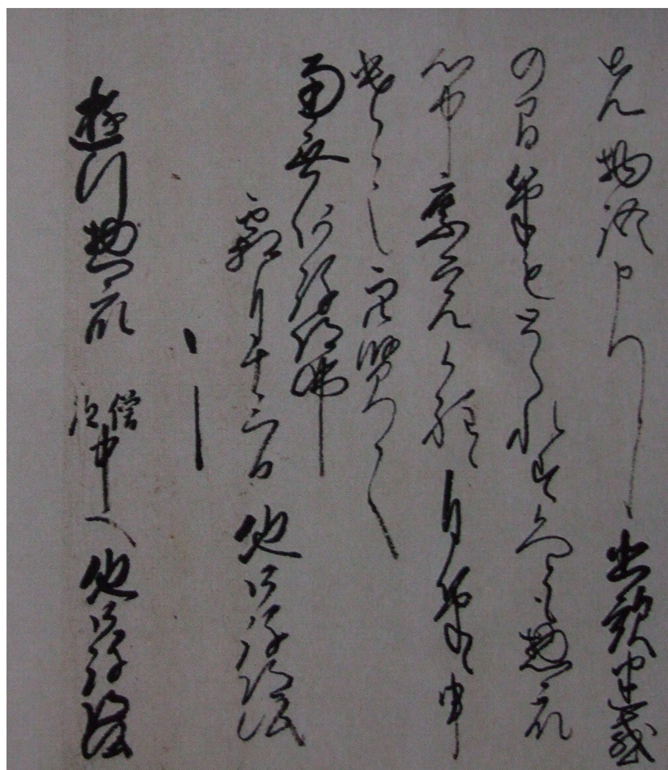


Fig.6 Jikū's letter to the yugyō mission, year 1400. The last line of the document reads: "to the Yugyō community members, monks nuns. Ta'amidabutsu." Source: *Chōrakuji no Meihō*, ed. Kyoto National Museum (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 27.

Most encounters of female jishū are found in the letters by the Yugyō school leaders. The following section presents letters that offer valuable insights to female members on the itinerant journeys. We begin with a document by Shinkyō, in which he discusses a nun who had traveled with Ippen:

> Training without wisdom and without the earnest intention to attain enlightenment with one's recitation of the nembutsu, will, regardless of the decades spent [in training], not amount to the Buddha's way. Shōichi[bō] had traveled with the late

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[17] Jikū, *Yugyō sōshū ate*, in *Chōrakuji no Meihō*, ed. Kyoto National Museum (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 27 and 71.

> hijiri (Ippen) joining in from the Eastern part and [traveling] to the western countries and to Shikoku. Although [she] survived starvation and the cold, she still does not have the true resolve. At the time, with the body the gong was struck and the words of promise [were made] but now all that connection has been lost. This makes it obvious the saying that the training of the past has no merit.[18]

The nun being criticized is Shōichibō, who had been a companion of Ippen. She joined Ippen's jishū fellowship in the eastern region of Japan, likely north of Zenkōji, traveled with him for years throughout the western parts and continued through to the island of Shikoku. After Ippen's death, Shōichibō joined Shinkyō's mission, took the vow of obedience to Shinkyō, and continued to travel with him and his jishū throughout the regions. Where she resided when the dōjō was established is unknown; however, she remained close enough that news of her actions, whatever they may have been, reached Shinkyō and led to her being dismissed as one without proper faith.[19]

Shoichibo's extensive travel and numerous years of training did not insulate her from censure. Had Shōichibō objected to Shinkyō and his new role? For reasons unspecified Shinkyō used her as an example to his jishū as someone who had lost her path to Rebirth. As a jishū one had to maintain one's faith through one's obedience to the Chishiki, religious leader. The Chishiki in this case was Shinkyō himself. Shinkyō was clarifying that the order had rules and these rules were set by Shinkyō himself. The goal of achieving Rebirth depended on one's continuous devotion and faithfulness to Shinkyō, not on one's past relationship with Ippen.

The act of yugyō was considered a path of redemption, a path of faith, and a

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18 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 1 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 147. The mention of Shōichibō appears in "words from the Shōnin to priest and laymen," a collection of various short entries by Shinkyō. Each segment begins with "and it was said." The translation here is the full entry concerning Shōichibō.
19 Ibid.

form of demonstration of one's non-attachment. The third leader, Chitoku, makes this point in one of his letters:

> Those who devote their mind and body to the Journey (yugyō) and help with the method of teaching become those who help with the indirect causes. They are receivers of the protection of the mindfulness of the Buddha and are able to achieve rebirth.[20]

For the jishū order, high value was still placed on the yugyō but one's obedience to the leader became even more important.

We will likely never know for certain why Shōichibō and the other jishū joined Ippen's original mission. They did, however, travel in hopes of making the world a better place. Their task was to encompass the world with the name Amida Buddha and to secure a passage for themselves and all whom they encountered to Rebirth in the Pure Land. These goals and the attraction of a charismatic leader helped the fellowship continue on the challenging and difficult journey. Life was difficult on the road and day-to-day survival was uncertain. The scrolls and the *Jishū kakochō* contain reports of the illness and death of yugyō members. A letter from the late fourteenth century reports the death of a jishū during a snow storm on the road.[21]

With the establishments of dōjō there were new roles that needed to be fulfilled by the jishū. A selection process was started to determine who would join the yugyō mission, who was sent to a dōjō, and who would lead that dōjō or assist the leader. The second source examined is a letter to Donkai, the third Yugyō hijiri, while he was on his

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[20] Chitoku, *Yugyō sandai Ta'a shojō*, in *Chōrakuji no Meihō*, ed. Kyoto National Museum (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 67.
[21] Jikū, *Yugyō daidai hōgo*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 1 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 353.

itinerant mission, and was written by the second Yugyō hijiri, Chitoku, who was then resided in the Taima dōjō. This letter informs us of the difficulties one nun, Myōichibō, had while among the yugyō group.[22] Myōichibō had traveled with both Shinkyō and Chitoku, took residence in a dōjō after many years of journeying. She was then informed after Shinkyō's death that Shinkyō had questioned her devotion and faith. As with Shōichibō, despite her numerous years of journeying, her actions while in residence created enough suspicion in Shinkyō's mind to call attention to her conduct, but not enough to censure her directly. The conduct of several jishū members resulted in their faith being questioned and their path to Pure Land being denied. Donkai, for example, lists the monks Kyo'amidabutsu and Kai'amidabutsu as examples of those who had lost their way to Rebirth.[23] In the *Jishū kakochō* we discover several monks and nuns who, despite being recorded and thus having secured Rebirth, were later denied the path posthumously by having with the character *fu*, not, placed above their name.[24]

Anxious to redeem herself Myōichibō sought to again rejoin the Yugyō group. After receiving permission from Chitoku, she joined the mission, which was then led by Donkai. Chitoku writes to Donkai about the motivation behind Myōichibō's re-joining the mission:

> Myōichibō, who I [Chitoku] sent your way, had from the late hijiri [Shinkyō]

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[22] A full translation of this letter is in the Appendix. Chitoku, "*Yugyō sandai Chitoku shōnin shojō* 4", *Shichijō monjo*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 1 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 392. Also in *Chōrakuji no Meihō*, ed. Kyoto National Museum (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 67-68. A photocopy of the original letter can be seen on page 22-23.

[23] Donkai, "*Yonso shōnin on shōsoku* 4", *Yugyō hōgo shū*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 1 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 332.

[24] This practice spans the years of 1282 to 1394. After which, there are no post-denials. One interesting case is nun Nōbutsubō, who is also the last name to receive the "*fu.*" She is pardoned after being denied.

> been constantly mentioned as someone who had not given-up their body/mind… Now, realizing that she was thought so [by Shinkyō], [she] feels resentment and regret of this. Therefore, in order to prove her worth to him, she has resolved to commit her body in yugyō and to redeem her late actions.[25]

Permission to go on yugyō did not come easily. Myōichibō apparently pleaded with Chitoku several times before her wish was granted. She faced greater challenges when she joined the new and younger crowd. Her participation was not welcomed by the jishū, particularly by the fellow nuns.

> She [Myōichibō] had come to me numerous [three] times and I concurred with her decision. To treat her as someone who disobeyed my wishes, to resent the attention given to her and her proximity to sit near [the leader, Donkai] is unfounded. I have heard that the nuns have taken deep resentment towards this. Those who discriminate against Myōichibō are discriminating against the Chishiki. This is a grave crime.[26]

Myōichibō was obviously not welcomed by the other female members of the group. She also had gained permission to sit near Donkai, a point of contention for the younger jishū members. Chitoku, though, in this letter asserts his authority as Chishiki; since it was his decision to let Myōichibō join the yugyō group and anyone who objected, including Donkai, would be going against his orders.

> [Myōichibō] is of considerable age. As [her] time in stationary [service] was long, there are people who think it must have been pretty boring. However, as the hijiri [Shinkyō] words are within memory [in the ear], it [became] crucial that [Myōichibō] give up her body/mind, and this was expressed with great emotion, we are all to understand this. If it was that [she] had gone against me [Chitoku], then it would be my [responsibility] to make [her] attain absolute

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[25] Chitoku, "*Yugyō sandai Chitoku shōnin shojō* 4" 392.
[26] Ibid.

> faith in Amida's salvation. It was not out of selfish reasons that she was sent there. It is expected that all these matters be taken into account when considering this.[27]

This suggests that the young jishū on yugyō considered residency a boring life. This also gives an impression that the yugyō group formed a tight unit, and were critical of former members rejoining and criticized Myōichibō for joining the mission out of 'boredom'. Myōichibō, as a seasoned itinerant member, may have demanded some authority over the younger jishū. Her proximity to Donkai, for example, suggests that she might have assumed a place in the hierarchy.

During the early years the jishū could not expect lodging or food on their travels. Individuals who were skilled in collecting and preparing food for the group were greatly valued. In 1319 the nun Gen'ichibō was entrusted by Chitoku to provide food for the itinerant mission led by Donkai. Her skills did have limits, however, and she was only able to gather and prepare enough food for Donkai. Word got back to Chitoku that Donkai refused to eat when no one else could.[28]

> Now, is it true? The nun[s] have told me, Gen'ichibō who was sent your way with some (food) to you and your followers who could no longer eat. You [Donkai] said you alone could not take that. If this is true, this is without precedent. The reason for this? The late Hijiri also, in the past, received prepared [goods] from Ryōichibō. We ought to follow this…Gen'ichibo's efforts to assist in your difficult situation was done for you. Despite that you did not

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27 Ibid.

28 The following letter is from, Chitoku, "*Yugyō sandai Chitoku shōnin shojō* 5," 394. Also in *Chōrakuji no Meihō*, ed. Kyoto National Museum (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 68. A photocopy of the original letter can be seen on page 24-25. Umetani in *Chūsei yugyō shōnin to bungaku* offers another interpretation, he suggests Gen'ichibō remained in the itinerant mission even after the successor changed from Chitoku to Donkai and continued to find ways to prepare food for the mission when food was scarce.

take in her efforts. Not only that, but my own feelings have also been hurt. Such actions do not have precedent.

He further explains that each yugyō trip implies starvation and one must thus discard the thought of food.

The singling out by name of Gen'ichibō and Ryōichibō as those skilled in dealing with food indicates the value placed on these female members. Gen'ichibō was specifically sent to Donkai to assist him in a difficult time of hunger. Gen'ichibō then, must have traveled with Chitoku where she had developed her skills in finding and preparing food in the most desperate of situations. How this was accomplished is unknown. Either she had knowledge of local plants and herbs, was persuasive in seeking alms from local residences, or knew of preservation techniques so could offer rations during desperate times. (It is interesting to note that the news came to Chitoku via a nun, suggesting nuns also acted as messengers.)

Other practices at this stage of the yugyō group history become apparent in the letter which mentions Gen'ichibō. Chitoku reminds Donkai the guideline that "hair should be shaven twice in ten days." Further, he comments that "even if you do not hear from me, do not worry", suggesting that there was usually a frequent communication between Chitoku and Donkai.[29] Chitoku also continues a topic that was broached in an earlier correspondence with Donkai, the matter of Chitoku's request for a jishū member to be sent to serve him at Taima.

Chitoku realizes he needs an extra hand to help him; "someone who can take care of me, easy of mind, clean hands… and will serve, [I] would like [some]one like

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29 Chitoku, "*Yugyō sandai Chitoku shōnin shojō* 5," 394.

that. But, if not possible, nothing can be done."[30] Chitoku stresses that Donkai, as the Yugyō hijiri, has priority and only a member that can be spared from the yugyō mission should be sent to him.

> Also regarding [the] jishū, of the two either are fine. However, if one is of use to you [Donkai] than keep in mind that yugyō should have priority. From here [Taima] I request that you send the one [jishū] that is of no use [to the yugyō mission]. Regarding this, do not think much about it. [You mention that monk] Kan'a although his will is there, he is not physically strong and not suited for yugyō. If this is true then you can arrange for him to be sent [to Taima]. [But] if this is not the case, and he is your right-hand man... and of great use, then send [monk] Raku'a.[31]

Chitoku's request for a jishū member from the yugyō mission suggests there was lack of support within the Taima dōjō. Were there few jishū at the Taima dōjō? Or was there no one appropriate to serve Chitoku as he desired? Nai'a Shinkō (1280 -1333), the chosen successor to Taima dōjō by Chitoku, was present at Chitoku's death. Shinkō was well connected with the Hōjō families but had not participated in yugyō. Taima dōjō thus was not only a retirement practice hall for the leader and the jishū who had traveled on yugyō but also served as a functioning dōjō which accepted converts and new members without demanding the practice of yugyō. Chitoku then must have felt more comfortable having someone who had practiced yugyō to assist him.

The Formalizing of Itinerancy: The Yugyō School's summer of 1430

30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.

The frequent correspondence between the leaders suggests the yugyō mission had become a planned journey. The increased numbers of dōjō throughout the provinces also provided shelter and food for the traveling group. The dōjō which hosted the Yugyō hijiri and the jishū, in exchange, received amulets, witnessed the nembutsu dance, and viewed the scroll *Engi-e* and any other items carried by the group. In 1344, Takuga and his jishū, during their tour of Shikoku and while en route to their next planned destination, were invited by the monks and nuns of Okunotani dōjō, a jishū temple independent of Shinkyō's jishū group, to stay at their dōjō. Takuga and his jishū accepted the invitation and spent three nights at Okunotani dōjō before continuing on their set route. We can then assume that during the yugyō mission the set itinerary remained flexible and allowed for digressions and unexpected visits and stays to occur.

In 1419 the Yugyō hijiri received official sanction by the Ashikaga government to travel freely throughout the provinces.[32] While the roads still provided a challenge with their harsh weather and terrain, this sanction ended the mendicant nature of the travel. By this point, the yugyō mission had shaped into something unrecognizable from Ippen's itinerant group. The journeys were planned with the assumption that shelter would be provided by various jishū dōjō throughout the provinces. The official sanction added extra comfort to this yugyō mission. Now the group had horses, palanquins, and footman accompanying their journey. Members were assigned specific duties with official ranks, whereby creating hierarchy among the members.

A travel record by the sixteenth Yugyō hijiri Nanyō (1387-1470) offers various insights to the life on the road in the early fifteenth century. The following account is from *Yugyō jūrokudai shikoku ushinki.* (Travel record of the 16th Yugyō group in

32 As mentioned earlier in this chapter, see pages 81, 82.

Shikoku): [33]

It was a hot day in the summer of 1430 when the sixteenth Yugyō hijiri's itinerant group decided to bathe in Yoshina river. Hot and exhausted from their duties, it was difficult to resist the temptation of entering the cool river water near the dōjō in which they were staying. Without seeking permission from Nanyō (1387-1470), their leader, several jishū jumped into the river to refresh themselves. Since there was a strong current running through this river, most jishū remained near the riverbed. Rin'a, though, was confident in his swimming skills and swam to one of the large rocks. He was sunbathing when he noticed I'a making his way over to the rock as well. As Rin'a was watching, he noticed I'a had lost control and was struggling not to be carried away by the current. Rin'a jumped back into the river and swam over to rescue I'a. The current was too strong though, and both were swept away, never to return.

When this drowning tragedy was reported to Nanyō, he stripped away the right of Rebirth from the two deceased, for they had behaved in an unapproved manner. By not seeking permission to bathe in the river the two jishū had committed the gravest sin; they had disobeyed the *Chishiki*, the leader. Obedience to the leader was the foundation of the jishū vows. A day after, the body of I'a was discovered and Nanyō instructed the body to be "left on the road for the beasts to tear it apart."

Although Rin'a's body was still missing, the group traveled to Shōmyōji, in Iwakura.[34] While visiting this dōjō one of the female jishū, Kōichibō, was possessed by

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[33] The following narrative is from *Yugyō jūrokudai shikoku ushinki.* (Travel record of the 16th Yugyō group in Shikoku). Nanyō, *Yugyō jūrokudai shikoku ushinki,* in *Teihon Jishū shūten,* vol. 2 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 1461.

[34] The path of the itinerants is only clear for the first three destinations. They start out at Kuhonji dōjō in Ashū, then travel to Shōmyōji dōjō in Iwakura. The very next day they

the two victims. Nanyō was informed of this incident by the nun Dai'ichibō. Kōichibō, without any warning, had suddenly died, or so everyone had thought. Suddenly, to everyone's surprise, from the (apparently) dead body of Kōichibō came the voice of I'a. "I am I'a from the sixth dorm. I, without wanting to, drowned. I have come to seek leave from my fellow members." A little later another voice appeared. This time it was Rin'a who wished to be pardoned by the Yugyō Shōnin (hijiri). The Shōnin's pardon and recitation of the ten nembutsu was his only hope of achieving Rebirth.

Dai'ichibō and the other monks and nuns pleaded with Nanyō for his sympathy. Nanyō felt the power and remarkableness over how "right now Rin'a soul returned to borrow Kōichi[bō]'s mouth to express his sorrow over being in the state of purgatory." He then offered the ten nembutsu, to which "the invalid/ill [Kōichibō] joined the palms and with tears poured down, [Rin'a] said, [I am] now, at peace, knowing without a doubt that the path for Rebirth was set. There was nothing further on his mind and, taking his leave, he returned."

When Kōichibō woke up a few hours later she was back to her normal self. Just after her awakening came a report that Rin'a's body had been discovered near I'a's body. Instructions were given for the body to be delivered to Shōmyōji for a funeral.

The Yugyō group continued their journey the next day, this time to Shodō dōjō in Iwasu. Dai'ichobō once again reported to Nanyō that Kōichibō had taken ill and, like the day before, I'a had possessed Kōichibō's body to confess his sins. His confession was that, when still alive, he had formed an attachment to a woman within the group. No "actual crime" had been committed, but he had deep feelings for this woman, Nin'ichibō.

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head over to Shodō dōjō within Hasaka Shrine in Iwasu. From there, they spend another four months in Shikoku.

Despite being dressed in the clothes of a religious man he had formed illicit thoughts. His only hope for redemption was to receive sympathy and forgiveness from the Shōnin. The Shōnin, however, was clear in his stance. Breaking the laws of the order, and thus disobeying the order of the Chishiki, broke the path for one's entry to Rebirth. I'a was not pardoned and the nun involved, Nin'ichibō, was renamed Shōbutsubō.

Over the next four months the Yugyō group continued its travel through Aha, Tosa and Iyo provinces. One Autumn day while the group was climbing towards Futo-mountain on their way to Ganseiji in Ehime prefecture, Kōichibō "suddenly became ill and it was not clear if she was still alive. The ten nembutsu was given [by the Shōnin as well as] medicine." She was placed in the carriage and was carried to their destination, Ganseiji. Once again the voice of I'a took over her body; "although [I am] afraid of what the Shōnin would think and embarrassed for what the group may think, it is said that by confessing at the end it may come true, therefore [I] state this by exposing my own actions." I'a proceeded to inform the audience, via the mediation of Kōichibō, that, while he had claimed there was no "actual crime" committed with Shōbutsubō (Nin'ichibō), he had lied; "ashamed for what people would think over the crime, I falsely said that there was no actual crime." Because of this he had since sunk into the continuous suffering of Hell (*nairi*). He again wished for forgiveness from the Shōnin.

Shōbutsubō was sought out and questioned over this new claim. She was unable to deny any of it. As her crime also included not revealing her full involvement with I'a during the first confession, Shōbutsubō was then punished by banishment. In distress, she spent several days fasting until she was finally granted a pardon and given *kyakuryō* (visitor) status. I'a was not pardoned, however, and was to remain an example for future generations of jishū of what happens when crimes are committed.

There was, however, someone else in Ashū province that sought for I'a to be forgiven and be granted the ten nembutsu. Due to this lobbying I'a was eventually given pardon, but his story remained to be used as an example to those who would commit a crime, regardless whether it was considered a small crime or one only committed in the heart. Nanyō notes that jishū who had struck the gong were neither to shy away from the all-seeing Buddha nor be embarrassed by their fellow companions.

Relationship Among the Jishū and the Yugyō Hijiri

This record of the journey taken in Shikoku by the sixteenth Yugyō hijiri and his jishū is ultimately a record reinforcing the absolute authority of the leader. It underlines the idea that the leader is the one able to grant or deny one's access to Rebirth. Through the recounting of the drowning, we are given a rare glimpse into the organization and activities of the post-official sanction yugyō group of the year 1430. It is known that carriers, palanquins, were in use and available during the journey including travel over difficult terrain. The tragedy occurred after the jishū had completed their preparations and duties in organizing the religious service to be performed at Kuhonji for lord Nikaidō. I'a and Rin'a appear like young men of any time or place, enjoying the day until the accident. The tragedy did not alter the course of the itinerant journey, however and the group departed as planned to its next destination.

Three nuns appear in the document: Dai'ichibō, Kōichibō, and Nin'ichibō. Dai'ichibō, was likely the leader within the group of nuns. The 'voices' coming from Kōichibō's trances were heard directly by her. Further, she must have had direct access to Nanyō for it was Dai'ichibō who reported the first two trances to him. She and an "other

older monk" also joined together to have Rin'a pardoned.

Kōichibō, the medium, held the title, *shokusho* (eating place), suggesting she was involved with preparing food for the group. Nin'ichibō, the object of I'a's affections, held the title *monodachisho* (place of mending/needlework). When Nin'ichibō's connection with I'a is discovered, it appears, as punishment, her name changes to Shōbutsubō. While no other evidence indicates that a -butsubō title was lower than -ichibō, this reference suggests that there was a hierarchy embedded in the religious designations.

When Nin'ichibō, now Shōbutsubō, was forced to confess her amorous relationship with I'a, she was banished from the order. Yet she did not go far. Perhaps as a demonstration of penance for the crime, she fasted for three days. After this she was granted permission to return to the group as a guest.

The trance of Kōichibō is essential to the narrative. It is important to understand the beliefs of that time which concerned the spirits of the dead and the trances of mediums who transmitted the spirit's message. Belief in the spirits of the dead was well rooted. The spirits were assumed to be able to traverse the barrier that divided their world from that of the living. The dead were able to affect the living in many ways. It was believed that an individual who had an untimely, violent or lonely death, would become a discontented, angry or wandering spirit. Malignant spirits were capable of possessing humans and could inflict sickness, enfeeble or mentally derange those possessed. Vengeful spirits were also believed to be able to harm society as a whole.[35]

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[35] One famous malignant spirit was Sugawara no Michizane (845-903). He was exiled and died in disgrace after a political dispute. A succession of calamities - flood, drought, lightning, pestilence - overwhelmed the country after his death. These phenomena were attributed to the work of his extremely vengeful and angry spirit. His form, fashioned of lightning and thunder, was seen in the capital. To pacify his anger extraordinary

Female mediums, *miko*, were believed to have had the power to converse with the spirits of the dead and the gods. Most accounts noted that the medium's trances occurred after the medium had given a theatrical performance including dancing, chanting or music. The miko then, entered a controlled possession in order to transmit messages from the world of the unknown.[36] In the case of Kōichibō the trance began without any ceremony or warning. Each time she became ill and her life seemed to be in danger.

Ioan. M. Lewis, in his work *Ecstatic Religion,* theorizes that spirit possession was an effective vehicle for women to manipulate the dominant sex, especially their husbands and male relatives.[37] Victor Turner also offers spirit possession as a subversive response to the social injustice and psychic repression of women.[38] Doris Bargen, in her study of the *Tale of Genji*, offers a similar explanation; spirit possession was a female strategy to counter the male empowerment.[39] Was Kōichibō contesting the social order?

We may recall a century earlier, during the third and fourth Yugyō hijiri's time, nuns could talk directly with the leaders. The letter describing Myōichibō, as examined earlier in this chapter, demonstrates she had argued directly with Chitoku, the third Yugyō

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measures were needed. It was only after the spirit was transformed into a god, *kami*, under the name of Kitano Tenjin that the enmity ceased. Similarly, the death of the Retired Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164), who had been banished from the capital in 1156 after an attempted coup d'etat, was believed to be the cause of numerous natural calamities, including outbreaks of fire, pestilences, and comets sighted in the capital. Again, public rituals had to be performed to appease his angered spirit.

[36] Gerald Groemer, "Female Shamans in Eastern Japan," *Asian Folklore Studies,* 66 (2007): 38.

[37] Ioan. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 26.

[38] In Doris Bargen*, A Woman's Weapon: Spirit Possession in The Tale of Genji* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii press, 1997), 7. She refers to Victor Turner, *On the Edge of the Bush* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 292.

[39] Bargen, *A Woman's Weapon*, xix. and 247. She states that spirit possession was "a way to show the men that the social order may not be uncontested."

hijiri. Myōichibō had insisted she return to the yugyō mission, and while Chitoku did not initially approve, her persistence and sincerity, eventually convinced him and he consented to her request. As well as indicating Myōichibō's actions, the letter informs the reader that nuns voiced their complaints directly to the leader. This suggests the relative ease and access jishū members had with their leaders, and in turn a belief that the leader would listen to their concerns.

Within Nanyō's group, as suggested in the travel record, only a selected few had direct access or permission to converse with him. (One was nun Dai'ichibō.) We can then ask if Kōichibō's trance was a ploy to draw attention to the drowning tragedy of her colleagues? Nanyō had shown neither remorse nor regret at the lost of the two members. In fact, he condemned them for their selfish actions. Had the Yugyō hijiri's traveling mission become rigid with hierarchy, leaving no room for a junior member (male or female) to voice their concerns or opinions? Left without a voice, spirit possession, does appear then, to have become a form of strategy to access and counter the Chishiki's empowerment. Rin'a is granted pardon because of the 'spiritual' powers, as exposed by Kōichibō.

If Kōichibō's first two trances were to demand the pardon for the departed group members, the third trance is puzzling because of its difference. The circumstances differ from the first two, and it occurs four months after the drowning tragedy. The first two trances happen within a dōjō. The third trance begins while on the road. Kōichibō is quickly placed in a carriage and carried to their destination. Once at the dōjō the voice of I'a is heard, stating he is still in purgatory, and wished to confess his sexual relationship with Shōbutsubō (formally Nin'ichibō). The outcome of this trance is the banishment of Shōbutsubō. Was this third trance aimed to punish this nun? Or was the aim to remind

everyone of the drowning incident four months earlier? While I'a was not pardoned because of Kōichibō's trances, he was eventually pardoned through the influence of an outsider, "a person from Ashū province." The outsider is not named but was, perhaps, lord Nikaidō, the patron of the dōjō near the river where the tragedy occurred. There may have been some incentive to keep the memory of the tragedy fresh, in hopes that such pardon could occur.

Conclusion

From a mendicant group to a grand procession, the Yugyō school transformed itself over the centuries without ever detaching itself from the importance of yugyō.[40] This chapter has identified the changes within the itinerant practice. As the yugyō took on a formal structure and became a sponsored mission by the military government, the relationship between the leaders and members changed, especially their form of communication. Within the initial Yugyō hijiri journeys, jishū members conversed openly with the leaders and voiced their complaints directly, by the sixteenth Yugyō hijiri's journey, jishū members were bound to a strict hierarchy and only a selected few were allowed direct communication with the leader. Significantly, throughout these changes, female jishū continued to play important roles. Even in the fifteenth century, the nun Dai'ichibō was one of the select few who conversed directly with the Yugyō hijiri. After the sixteenth Yugyō hijiri's journey, the particulars of the itinerant missions and the roles

[40] Only a few of the itinerant missions have survived. Based on the materials within *Teihon jishū shūten*, we have the records of the 8th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 24th, 31st, 42nd, and the 56th Leaders. This is in addition to the pictorial sources of Ippen and Shinkyō.

of female jishū have yet to be discovered, and it remains to be seen how the female members participated in the Tokugawa period yugyō practice.

Participation in a yugyō mission, regardless of the era, was an arduous undertaking. The women who participated in this religious adventure were ascetics who led extraordinary lives. Their willingness to undertake the religious journey shows considerable dedication to their spiritual commitment. The next chapter attempts to determine if the female jishū were an exception to the norm by understanding of the general role of women within the medieval period.

Chapter 4
Women, Tonsure, and Travel

The previous chapter offered first-hand accounts of female preachers who traveled with the Yugyō school, journeying through the archipelago of fourteenth and fifteenth century Japan. Where these women exceptional in their life style choice? This chapter will explore the position of women in general during the medieval period and the practicality of travel to better understand the female jishū, to assess how, if at all, they were unique.

The role of female Buddhist practitioners is often left unexamined or considered to be of secondary value. Within medieval tales numerous holy-men appear, but it is rare to encounter holy-women. Research that focused on monastic Buddhism and on individual ascetics has had difficulty identifying the participation of women. Most monastic centers were off-limits to women (and, one should note, also off-limits to anyone without financial assets). Women were considered a distraction for the monks in pursuit of enlightenment and were believed to be defiled beings that carried the five obstructions. The institutional nunneries were overshadowed politically by the monasteries and it was often the case that monks from a monastery controlled their administration.[1]

The period's attitude towards women can be best understood by exploring the changes that the age brought to women's roles. Women serving the court saw the end of many opportunities for employment and patronage. Titles traditionally awarded to

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[1] For more on the women and Buddhism in premodern Japan, see Ruch, ed. *Engendering Faith.*

women began to be passed on to men. Changes in land division, inheritance, and marriage customs affected the financial security of many, especially women. The result of these changes was usually the weakening women's rights to property.

Wakita Haruko categorized three possible living situations for women in the medieval ages, she suggests that women either lived in the *ie* system, lived as a *yūjo*, female entertainer, or lived as a nun.[2] The ie system is described as a unit consisting of a husband and wife maintaining a household, creating a basic organizational unit of society.[3] Yūjo were outside of the ie system, and as entertainers they delighted their audience with dance, song and sexual favours. Nun-hood also offered an opportunity for women a means of survival. Barbara Ruch has stated; "If there is a single dominant paradigm in medieval life, it is the tonsure as an acceptable option, a pervasive dynamic in the common culture of medieval Japan, in the lives of all, men and women alike."[4]

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2 For a discussion on the history, role, and status of *yūjo*, see Amino Yoshihiko, *Chūsei no hinin to yūjo* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten,1994). Wakita Haruko, *Josei geinō no genryū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2001). And Janet Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

3 Wakita Haruko, "The Formation of the *ie* and Medieval Myth: The *Shintō-shū*, *Nō* Theatre, and Picture Scrolls of Temple Origins," in *Gender and Japanese History*, vol. 1, ed. Haruko Wakita, Anne Bouchy and Ueno Chizuko (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999), 54. See also Wakita Haruko, *Nihon chūsei josei shi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1992). Within the *ie* system the household, under the direction of the husband, offered protection to those who were loyal to the *ie*. Should the husband become absent, either by military obligations or death, then the wife would oversee the household. Female attendants as well as concubines were considered members within the *ie* system. This ie system gradually emerges and can be first seen in the late eleventh century. The difference between the ie and uji (clan) was the central position of the married couple, in the ie system the legal wives and mothers of noble-households and warrior households held considerable power. This 'power' or influence within their household unit continues until the sixteenth century until their role as household manager was taken over by male officials serving the lord of the house, See Kurushima Noriko, "Marriage and Female Inheritance in Medieval Japan," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1, no.2 (2004): 229. Amino, *Hyōhaku to teichaku,* 392. Also Tabata Yasuko and Hosokawa Ryōichi, *Nyonin, rojin, kodomo* (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 2002).

4 Barbara Ruch, "The Other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan," in *The Cambridge History of Japan,* vol. 3, ed. Kozo Yamamura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 507.

Before exploring aspects of nun-hood, it is instructive to review how women were portrayed and perceived within Buddhist doctrinal literature. Early Indian Buddhist sangha communities inherited much of the wider society's institutional misogyny and thus the texts that were translated into Chinese transmitted these attitudes and practices along with Buddhism.[5] Some of the misogynistic attitudes were the notion of the essential sinfulness of women, the doctrinal debates on the necessity for women to be reborn as men before attaining enlightenment (known as *henjō nanshi*), the five obstructions[6] and the prohibition of women from entering sacred places. Taboos surrounding blood, and thus menstrual blood and bleeding during birth, were considered reasons for classifying women as impure. This impurity led to the forbidding of women to enter places such as Mount Hiei and Mount Koya, the grounds of major Buddhist centers of learning and worship.

Mujū Ichien (1226-1312), a monk and author of many Buddhist tale collections, expressed the seven sins of women in one of his collections, *Tsuma kagami* (Mirror for Women). First, women have no compunction about arousing sexual desire in men. They are always jealous. They are deceitful. They only think of their appearance and desire sensual attention from others. They have few honest words. Their uncontrolled desire

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5 An example of such practice is the Vinaya rules for women. These Chinese texts were read in Japanese. Edward Kamens, "Dragon-Girl, Maidenflower, Buddha: The Transformation of Waka Topos, "The Five Obstructions,"" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no 2 (December 1993): 393.

6 *Itsutsu no swari*: the key source for this idea was within the Devadatta chapter of the *Lotus Sutra.* Saariputra, one of Buddha's disciples, reveals that the female body is inherent with five obstructions; the impossibility for women to attain rebirth as a Brahmaa, Indra, Maara, Cakravartin, and a Buddha. To this, the eight year old daughter of the dragon king offers the Buddha a precious gem, turns into a man and achieves rebirth into a Buddha. Stated alongside the five obstructions are the Three Obediences, a Confucian concept emphasizing the subservient social position of women. First she must obey her father, then her husband and her son. The two concepts are often coupled together into a single phrase, *gosho sanjū*, five hindrances and three obediences.

leads them to shameless actions. And finally, their bodies are unclean and foul due to pregnancy, childbirth, and regular menstrual discharges.[7]

Hōnen (1133-1212), the founder of Jōdo Shū (Pure Land Buddhism), discussed the issues of women's salvation. While he assured women of salvation through the blessing of Amida Buddha, this was only in the context of Amida Buddha's grace for saving all sentient beings, including the evil - women. For example, he stated that Amida Buddha's thirty-fifth vow promises women's attainment of the Pure Land "because Amida first helps the woman to learn to despise her own womanhood and thus to ready herself for the requisite change to maleness which his compassion bestows on her."[8]

According to Buddhist doctrinal works, while a woman was technically able to attain enlightenment, or Rebirth in the Pure Land, she had first to accomplish the impossible: to transform her body into that of a man. Despite the clarity of this doctrine, not all Buddhist practitioners subscribed fully to this theory.[9]

Examination of records from women outside the court circle, and hence farther from the sources of doctrine, suggest that these women did not suffer from discrimination over gender. For example, surviving letters of Eshin'ni (1182-1268?), the wife of Shinran

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[7] Muju is quoting Daoxuan (596-667), a Chinese monk who codified monastic rules. See Robert Morrell, *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York : Columbia University Press, 2001), 409.

[8] Kamens, "Dragon-Girl, Maindenflower, Buddha," 400. Soho Machida suggests that the wide audience Hōnen received, which included women, liberated Hōnen from the female prejudices of Buddhism. See *Hōnen: Renegade Monk.* trans. Ioannis Mentzas (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 12.

[9] For example, Dōgen (1200-1253), the founder of the Sōtō Zen School, in his treatise *Shōbōgenzō* (Treasury of the Eye of the True Dharma), describes his view on the question of the difference between the sexes: "Learning the Law of Buddha and achieving release from illusion have nothing to do with whether one happens to be a man or a woman." Further he states: "The four elements that make up the human body are the same for a man as for a woman….. You should not waste your time in futile discussions about the superiority of one sex over the another." Both quotes from Ruch, "The Other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan," 506.

(1173-1263) who is considered the founder of Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land Buddhism), inform us that she expected to be born in the Pure Land as herself, without having to change into male form.[10] Eshin'in's letters to her daughter contrast with the orthodox position as they convey the belief that women have the same access to Pure Land.[11]

Recent research, such as Nomura Ikuyo's study on donation-plates (*kishinfuda)* in the Wakasa region, has shown that the concept of the degradation of women took considerably longer to seep into the consciousness of women and men than has traditionally been thought. Her research found that words reflecting religious discrimination towards women only begin to appear around the start of the sixteenth century.[12]

It is conceivable that an itinerant group, such as the men and women who traveled with Ippen, were even more flexible in their understanding and teaching of the Buddhist tenets than more stationary groups. It is easier and perhaps more necessary to be strict within reclusive and segregated centres. The reason for the inclusion of both genders in the Yugyō hijiri group was likely a reflection of the gender inclusive view of Buddhism that existed beyond the monastic walls. I contend there were no barriers to women joining an itinerant mission such as Ippen's and the Yugyō hijiri. To demonstrate this point, it is important to first understand how taking the tonsure was a viable option for women of the time. Among the women who took the tonsure were those who chose to travel, either as a form of penance or as an active way to proselytize their faith. The

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10 James C Dobbins, *Letters of the Nun Eshin'ni. Images of Pure Land Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2004), 104.
11 Dobbins, *Letters of the Nun Eshin'ni*, 105.
12 Nomura Ikuyo, *Bukkyō to onna no seishin shi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004), 153 -154. Nomura notes that the concept of 'rescuing' women based on discrimination starts off with men praying for their mother's souls. Most were interested in praying for their parent's and/or husband, child's soul as well as their own. Also interestingly words such as *henjō nanshi* have not been found.

second point of discussion in this chapter centers on the attitude and practicality of travel during the medieval time.

Taking the Tonsure

Motivation for taking the tonsure varied widely. As Barbara Ruch states, it "included defiance, resignation, religious fervour, love of poetry and travel, flight from crime, and passionate attachment to deceased loved ones."[13] Taking the tonsure did not always reflect one's own religious devotion. Some cut or shaved their hair as way to attain an attractive and fashionable life-style; a life of seclusion was particularly fashionable among writers.[14] Others had it forced upon them. Servants often had to follow their master in taking the tonsure and many took the tonsure when they had no alternative livelihood.[15]

There is also the notion that "nunhood could simply be an opportunity to escape from the unwelcome pressures of life."[16] As the tonsure was a symbolic act of renouncing the world, a woman could thus divorce her husband by taking the tonsure, especially if done without the husband's acknowledgment.[17] On the other hand, it was

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13 Ruch, "The Other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan," 509.
14 Katsuura Noriko has analyzed medieval women's hair-cutting practices in relation to the social roles of nuns, suggesting the different roles among the nuns who had either styled in full tonsure, partial tonsure or simple hair cropping. For English see Noriko Katsuura, "Tonsure Forms for Nuns: Classification of Nuns According to Hairstyle," in *Engendering Faith,* ed. Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 109-130.
15 Tonomura Hitomi, Anne Walthall and Wakita Haruko, eds. *Women and Class in Japanese History* (University of Michigan Press, 1995), 78.
16 Ruch, "The Other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan," 509.
17 It was, however, also common for a woman to take the tonsure out of religious devotion and still maintain connection with the family and marriage. Minegishi, Sumio, *Chūsei o kangaeru: kazoku to josei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1992), 250.

also an opportunity for a widow to preserve her status as the 'loyal' wife and continue to uphold the household as she had done previously as well as continue to hold on to the property her deceased husband had bequeathed her.

Nishiguchi Junko's extensive research on medieval women and Buddhism explains that there is no simple definition of *ama*, 'nun', or of 'nun-hood.' A nun could live in a nunnery, or live within her home. She might live a secluded life, or live among a community of women. She could live within monastic walls, never to leave, or live a life of itinerancy, never settling down. Some were wealthy with powerful connections, some were beggars on the street. A nun could be affiliated with one particular sect, or practice various different teachings.[18] Many women, even without taking the tonsure, sponsored Buddhist services such as copying sutras, scriptures, or paintings, as well as donating land. It was common for court women to fashion their own ritual traditions based on their own matrilineal family lineages.[19]

Many of the early thirteenth century nunneries were established as *Bodaiji*, temples offering prayers for one's ancestors. The everyday activity of the medieval religious was the deliverance of the dead. Thus the most important Buddhist and Shinto rites were those services that were performed to produce merit for the deceased.[20] Nishiguchi Junko writes that *mōja kuyō,* service for the dead, was the foremost concern of medieval temples.[21]Concern over the fate of one's ancestors, loved ones, and oneself after death was the purpose and expectation that encouraged donations to temple-shrines.

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[18] Nishiguchi Junko, ed. *Nihonshi no naka no josei to bukkyō* (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1999), 166.
[19] Brian D, Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 214-229, 78.
[20] Nishiguchi Junko, *Hotoke to onna* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1997), 223-231.
[21] Ibid.

Prayers were focused on helping the beneficiaries escape the pain and suffering of the six realms and then attain birth in a Pure Land.

Women of the nobility, widows of warriors and their daughters often entered Botaiji nunnery residences.[22] These nunneries were not centers for active religious practice, but rather a place where women could continue to live once they became widows and orphans.[23] A surprising number of aristocratic young children with still-living parents also entered nunneries. Although there were many orphans who were forced into the monasteries as their only means of livelihood, many sons and daughters of noble birth were also enrolled into these temples. Scholars attribute this practice as a method to deal with the expense of keeping children and of preventing further division of land inheritance.[24] In turn, the nunnery was sponsored by the parents of these young children. The nunnery often became a microcosm of the real world, a place in which the social hierarchy of the outside world continued uninterrupted inside the walls.[25]

Small scale nunneries, *gosho*, or honourable places, tailored to the lifestyles of elite women can be found in the medieval period.[26] Ritsu, Zen, and Jōdo school nunneries opened during the thirteenth century to provide women from eminent aristocratic and high-ranking warrior families a place to reside. Most notable of these

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22 Nishiguchi, *Nihonshi no naka no josei to bukkyō*, 164.
23 Ushiyama Yoshiyuki, "Buddhist Convents in Medieval Japan," in *Engendering Faith,* ed. Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 135- 137. Such residences did not function beyond the life of the residing nun, either widow or daughter.
24 Minegishi, *Chūsei o kangaeru*, 271.
25 Ibid.
26 Lori Meeks, "Nuns, Court Ladies, and Female Bodhisattvas: The Women of Japan's Medieval Ritsu-School Nuns' Revival Movement." PhD Diss., Princeton University, 2003. 179. Also see Ushiyama "Buddhist Convents in Medieval Japan." *Bikuni gosho*, referred to places where women of the highest classes resided once they took the tonsure. A nunnery, a hermitage, a practice hall, whatever style of building, it served to allow the elite women to continue living in the privileged environment even after entering the religious order.

successful nunneries was Hokkeji, a Ritsu sect temple of the Saidaiji lineage.

Hokkeji was founded in 1243 when, with the aid of the founder of Shingon Ritsu sect, Eison (1201–1290), an abandoned nunnery was successfully restored and the nuns were received with full ordination into Buddha-hood. Eison encouraged massive group rituals involving both men and women of various classes. The nuns at Hokkeji proved instrumental in the development of nunneries of the Ritsu sect elsewhere.[27] For example, Kodaiji was founded by Shinjo (d. 1299), a nun from Hokkeji. Active in raising money and participating in activities of Saidaiji, Kodaiji was the "most powerful convent next to Hokkeji in the Saidaiji lineage."[28] The Ritsu sect was based on the *Vinaya*, which has a classification system that includes both men and women. It was thus important that there was a place for women within the structures that served this sect. Often this was done by having the convents and monasteries of this sect constructed in pairs, one next to the other.[29]

The nuns at both Hokkeji and Kodaiji temples were women from aristocratic society who had served at court. We know that the nuns at Hokkeji based their prayers for salvation on the concept of *henjō nanshi*. Hosokawa Ryoichi concludes that the belief in the need for this transformation meant that the nuns of Hokkeji were not free from the male-centred morality of the time.[30] Lori Meeks's study, however, suggests that women from the Ritsu school nunneries had not adopted this androcentric rhetoric.[31] She argues that while the texts from the Saidaiji have the monks representing themselves as standing

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27 Hosokawa Ryoichi, "Kamakura Period Nuns and Convents: Exploring Hokkeji Convent," trans. Micah Auerback, in *Gender and Japanese History* 1, ed. Wakita Haruko, Anne Bouchy, Ueno Chizuko (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999), 39.
28 Hosokawa, "Kamakura Period Nuns and Convents," 42. Kodaiji burned down during the Onin war (1467-1477) and was never restored.
29 Ushiyama "Buddhist Convents in Medieval Japan," 139.
30 Hosokawa, "Kamakura Period Nuns and Convents," 48.
31 See for example chapter four, Meeks, "Nuns, Court Ladies, and Female Bodhisattvas."

above the women's groups in an unyielding hierarchy, "the literature of the nunneries emphasizes the leadership of women and tends to ignore discussions of priests altogether."[32] This suggests that the nuns overlooked the abstracted doctrinal treatments of women.[33]

Keibutsubō: Jishū Nun from Rokujō Dōjō

Activities of individual jishū nuns have been recorded in a court diary known as *Moromori-ki.*[34] This diary by Nakahara Moromori was written between the years 1339 and 1374. Numerous monks and nuns appear in it, notably jishū nuns from the Rokujō dōjō and Shijō dōjō in Kyoto.[35] Two female religious names appear frequently: Keibutsubō of Rokujō dōjō, and Myōichibō of Shijō dōjō. Keibutsubō is identified as the aunt of Moromori, but the identity of Myōichibō remains a mystery. This diary offers, through the description of the activities of these two nuns and the various other nuns chronicled, insights into the lives of women who chose the path of a jishū and lived in the capital of Kyoto. Myōichibō from Shijō dōjō is introduced to us as "disciple of Jō'amidabutsu", leader of Shijō dōjō. In the diary she visits Nakahara Moromori's house often, but not as regularly as Keibutsubō.

Keibutsubō appears in the diary repeatedly, especially when she performs memorial services for the ancestors of the Nakahara clan. She also is recorded during

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32 Ibid., 298.
33 Ibid., 297.
34 Nakahara Moromori, *Moromori-ki*, in *Dainihon shiryō*, ed. Tokyo daigaku hensanjo, vol. 1-11 (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1983).
35 Nishiguchi Junko, "Josei to mōja kuyō," in *Hotoke to onna*, ed. Nishiguchi Junko (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1997), 234-246.

travels and family outings. For example, she accompanied Ko'amidabutsu, Moromori's wife, to Kiyomizu temple on the 18th of the second month, in 1341.[36] Every spring, around the 15th of the third month, Keibutsubō joined the family of Moromori and his elder brother Moroshige to attend the *Dai-nembutsu*[37] service at Saga Shakadō, which was one of the Kyoto spring festivals.[38] In addition to her social relationship and religious duties at the Nakahara household, one can imagine that Keibutsubō also visited other households to perform religious rituals, just as other nuns from the Rokujō dōjō are recorded joining Keibutsubō at the Nakahara household.

One of the most detailed diary entries related to Keibutsubō describes the burial and memorial service conducted for Moromori's father, Morosuke. During the seventy-seven days of service after Morosuke death, Keibutsubō and others come to both the house and the father's grave to perform religious services. Keibutsubō is often recorded as being accompanied by Sei'ichibō, another nun from the Rokujō dōjō. More involved services required more jishū members, such as the special religious service which consisted chanting the nembutsu throughout the night at the Nakahara's household.[39] Monks from the Rokujō dōjō and Shijō dōjō are recorded taking part in the memorial service as well. While their duties were similar to the nuns, the nuns came the night before to begin the service while the monks arrived on the day of the memorial and the services were then continued together.

The importance of Keibutsubō within the family and her status in the religious

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36 Another nun, Chibutsubō accompanied them as well. Apparently they walked together to Kiyomizu temple. Moromori had already gone earlier that morning to Gion and Kiyomizu temple. See Nakahara, *Moromori ki,* vol. 1, 94.

37 Also known as *yūzu dai nembutsu*

38 See for example entries in Nakahara, *Moromori ki,* vol. 1, 271. Ibid., vol. 3, 19. Ibid., vol. 4, 57.

39 See entries on 1345, Nakahara, *Moromori-ki,* vol. 6, 777 - 816. The all-night chanting can be found on page 784, the 5th and 6th day.

hierarchy is illustrated by her role of *chishiki*, religious leader, for Moromori's mother, Kenjin. Keibutsubō and another nun, Gyo'ichibō, where called upon at Kenjin's final moments to assist her in achieving entry to Pure Land. Both nuns were also responsible for the spiritual burial service and acted as *komorisō*, a role whose duties included reading sutras and chanting the nembutsu beside the grave.[40]

Though Keibutsubō's primary duties may have been overseeing the memorial services of the Nakahara's clan, it appears from the diary that she was also an independent figure who went on pilgrimages when she could. In 1346 she missed a rather important memorial service for Morosuke because she was on a pilgrimage to Kumano. Also, the following year, she missed another monthly memorial service because of her travels to the south.[41] Through these glimpses provided by the *Moromori-ki* we can see the tonsured women's active life, an integral part of a community (jishū) that serviced the needs of those within Kyoto. A nun's life was filled with religious and family duties as well as independent pilgrimages.

Travel: Poetic Expression, a Means of Survival, or a Way of Life

Travel, as witnessed in Keibutsubō's pilgrimage to Kumano and the south, reflects the mobility of the time. Previous chapters have also noted the activities of itinerants, such as the Yugyō school and the Ikkō school. Many livelihoods were inextricably linked with travel. Reasons for travel were as varied as the travelers, with purposes running the gamut from economic, religious, military, or political. To better

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[40] See 1345, 23rd day 8th month.
[41] See entries on 1346, 5th day, 2nd month and 1347, 6th day 5th month.

understand the fluid world of medieval Japan, this section explores the practicality of travel and travel as represented in literature. A framework of what travel was will help situate the jishū groups and the Yugyō school in the boarder context of wanderers in medieval Japan.

In the late twelfth century the central power of the imperial court was fragmented by the establishment of the military government in the coastal town of Kamakura. This led to a dual political system sharing power between the imperial court, based in Kyoto, and the military government, based in Kamakura. Communication between these two centers was necessary, and so a corresponding infrastructure, with water routes, highways and inns, was quickly developed to support the travel between these two sites. The traffic on the roads was not composed solely of the military, elite, or religious, but included all parts of society.[42] Travel was still by no means an easy task and, although roads were now frequented by numerous travelers, much of Japan remained an untamed wilderness, and so travelers had no guarantee of food, shelter or safety from bandits.

While some travelers limited themselves to trips to the marketplaces or to the capital; others led an itinerant life like those of the hijiri.[43] Actual descriptions of a traveler's daily life are limited. Most accounts we have of travel during the medieval period is through literary sources. The concept of travel was a popular theme which appears frequently in medieval texts. Before we explore the practical aspects of travel during the medieval period, we will briefly look at how the theme of travel is portrayed

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[42] Thomas Keirstead, *The Geography of Power in Medieval Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 35.

[43] An especially common form of hijiri was the *Kanjin hijiri*, who were monks that sought donations from all levels of society throughout the country. Kanjin hijiri performed valuable tasks for the community he traveled to: building bridges and temples, dispensing charity to the poor, and burying the dead.

within literary sources.

Travel as the theme and topic of literature can be found in warrior stories, tales, diaries, poetry, and noh plays. Herbert E. Plutschow states that travel literature was not about the physical journey, but rather the aesthetic appreciation and understanding of the classical poems produced at thematic locations. Travel belonged to the realm of fiction; so long as the structure and content was faithful to tradition, one did not have to actually physically go on a journey, but instead could write an imaginative travel journey from one's home.[44] If one did go on a trip to visit other regions and wrote about it, this writing was not about the journey itself, in which one discovered something new, nor about recording the daily route, the food consumed, or the money spent. It was a form of expression, to compare oneself within the poetic expressions of previous travel-poets. Journeys were taken to visit 'the' poetic landscape described by the masters.[45] The view at such locations was not seen through the traveler's own eyes, but through a poetic precedent. Christina Laffin points out, "for the aristocratic travelers of the medieval period, *waka* poetry was the foundation for their accounts and the framework through which they interpreted and constructed their journeys."[46] Following the geographical sights recorded in poems by famous historical poets such as Ariwara no Narihira (825-880) and Saigyō (1118 – 1190), medieval travelers sought to experience the same or similar emotional wonder of the place, and, by recording his or her own poem at such a historical poetic site, anticipated their journey to be grounded in literary history as well.

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44 Herbert E. Plutschow, *Tabi suru nihonjin* (Tokyo: Musashino shoin, 1983), 279.
45 Plutschow, *Tabi suru nihonjin,* 279.
46 Christina Laffin, "Women and Cultural Production: A Socio-Literary Critique of Kamakura Travel Diaries." Diss., Columbia University, 2005, 12. *Waka*, or Japanese poems, are poems composed in the native Japanese language based on sound units. Most popular pattern being the short form, or *tanka*, which is a 5-7-5 7-7 sound unit.

Poetic journey was thus a journey free from reality, it was instead a path to the world of poetic words.[47]

The example of Keibutsubō's journey shows, however, that travel did not remain within the realm of fiction, even for a lady within the circle of the Kyoto nobility; it was viable to undertake the journeys in the flesh. Most female travelers consisted of trades people, performers (both religious and secular) and pilgrims who did not record their journeys. Some travel diaries have survived, such as *Izayoi nikki* by Abutsu-ni (1222-1283) and *Towazugatari* by Nijō (1258-?). Both these women were of aristocratic background and, while the purpose of their travel differed, they both traveled alone (with only servants accompanying them) and used the act of recording their travel as a form of self-assertion and self-validation.[48]

Shinjō Tsunezō, in *Shaji sanmō no shakai keizaishiteki kenkyū* (a study of pilgrims to temples and shrines), defines travel as movement caused by an individual's resolution, and excludes from it movement caused by military obligation or merchant

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[47] See Naito Mariko, "The Journey of an Utamakura Through the Past" *Jōsai University, Review of Japanese Culture and Society* (December 2007), 3.

[48] Both Abutsu-ni and Nijō recorded their journeys, not only as a personal autobiographical travel diary, but to achieve their specific goals. Abutsu's trip was in quest for material support and official recognition as the heir to her husband's poetic lineage. What travel offered Nijō was, according to Christina Laffin, a chance to change the focus of her life as a tragic failed consort to a loyal ex-consort on an ascetic practice, by including tales and stories from her travels. Laffin, "Women and Cultural Production," 48. Saeko Kimura offers another theory; that Nijō sought and collected salvation narratives outside the canonical Buddhist doctrines in search for salvation of a sexual woman. See Kimura Saeko, "Regenerating Narratives: The confessions of Lady Nijō as a Story for Women's salvation" *Jōsai University, Review of Japanese Culture and Society* (December 2007), 87. Their journeys were not voluntary, but as a means of survival, as a means for making claim to inheritance rights, or as a means for self-discovery. But for both these aristocratic women, they present their fate as being determined by important men of their lives. With the changing of political power to the warrior government, posts for women within the court declined. For the women of the court during this period, nunhood and/or travel, became a way of life for those who could not secure a position at court or who lacked a patron to support them.

transport. And within medieval Japan, that movement, primarily consisted of a pilgrimage. Pilgrimage to holy sites offered travelers a chance to escape from daily routine and structure. As Victor and Edith Turner have noted, pilgrimage is a walking meditation, that "if mysticism is an interior pilgrimage, pilgrimage is an externalized mysticism."[49] Pilgrimage purifies the individual of traces of the human world and prepares the individual for a new state.

Shinjō Tsunezō offers several reasons for the increase in pilgrimages among multiple levels of society in the medieval period. The spread of Buddhism by hijiri and the corresponding campaigns directly from the temple and shrines established an interest in, and created a sense of devotion to, these holy-sites that prompted a desire to physically visit them. The temples and shrines themselves would encourage visitors by dispatching "guides", known as *oshi*, or *sendatsu,* such as Kumano sendatsu.[50]

The Yugyō school's itinerant missions offer another dimension to pilgrimage practice and travel in medieval Japan. The Yugyō school did not just dispatch guides to promote their religious center, but the Yugyō hijiri and jishū traveled as representatives of the Buddha and bodhisattvas, as a pilgrim in reverse, reaching out to various communities and geographical areas.

The improvement of the roads and waterways produced a growing industry of travelers, including not just those on pilgrimages, but military and merchant travelers as well. It also made the large entourage of the Yugyō school's missions possible. For most travelers, however, it was still not easy to venture on a pilgrimage, especially without

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[49] Victor Turner and Edith Turner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 7.
[50] See chapter two, Shinjō Tsunezō, *Shaji sanmō no shakai keizaishiteki kenkyū, shinkō,* (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1982), 91-298.

guidance. To this end the hijiri, yamabushi (mountain priests), sendatsu, and oshi gave a helping hand. They traveled from one community to the next and usually allowed fellow travelers to accompany them. As Shinjō Tsunezō states, the sendatsu and oshi alleviated the concern a pilgrim had over direction and shelter.[51] Their role not only benefited the pilgrim but the shrines and temples that they led the pilgrims to.

The desirable pilgrimage journeys were physically possible through the development of lodgings, *shuku*, along the major routes.[52] Shuku was both a place for travelers to rest and also a place where locals gathered to eat, drink and listen to stories and information offered by the travelers.[53] At these shuku one could, in addition to spending a night, seek entertainment from the *asobime*, the *yūjo* (female entertainers), or the *kugutsu* (puppeteers) of the neighbourhood.[54] Reports in contemporary diaries, such as *Sarashina nikki, Kugutsuki,* and *Towazugatari*, describe the colourful (and ephemeral) entertainment that the yūjo offered at lodgings. However, these lodgings were limited to the major roads and most shuku were found only along important routes, at intersections, at bays and water ports. Such establishments alleviated concern over shelter and food. As well as the growing number of shuku, the improvement of land and sea transport helped make pilgrim journeys a reality. However, compared to the easy access to shuku on the way to Ise Shrine or Kumano, when traveling on the island of Shikoku, for example, one was left to seek shelter with the local community.[55]

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51 Shinjō, *Shaji sanmō*, 131.
52 Janet Goodwin offers a fuller definition to the term *shuku.* "The term shuku also designates the dwelling place of low-status persons such as *hinin.* Since another meaning of shuku is a traveler's inn – often at a designated rest station along a highway- the word itself has overtones of itinerancy as well as marginalization." Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles*, 137.
53 Souryi, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 97.
54 Shinjō, *Shaji sanmō*, 125-151.
55 Ibid., 131.

Pictorial scrolls and literary tales inform us of the activities of pilgrims at all levels of society. Group travel, and especially pilgrimage journeys help explain the active participation of women in the itinerant jishū groups. Kanai Kiyomitsu remarks that the difficulty of traveling alone (Kanai explicitly states that female solitary travel was impossible) was overcome by forming pilgrim groups guided by a sendatsu.[56] He also suggests that females may have joined the itinerant jishū groups for the duration of their own independent pilgrim purpose.[57]

Shinjō lists a few examples of specific women on kanjin campaigns; such as the nun Jō'amidabutsu who, in the early thirteenth century, began a kanjin campaign for the copying of the Great Wisdom sutra (*Daihannya haramitta ky*ō). Jō'amidabutsu also began an annual religious service, the *Daihannya-kai*, at Hachiman shrine.[58] Another itinerant female figure listed is Shinbō who transmitted the Hachiman faith throughout Kyushū.[59]

Itinerant performers, such as the entertainer groups known as kugutsu, offered their audiences puppeteer shows, songs, dances, and even the chance to accompany them to bed.[60] Blind male and female storytellers also offered their audiences memorable performances by reciting military epics accompanied by the *biwa*, a musical instrument. Blind female storytellers, *goze*, recited stories such as *Soga monogatari*. Most fables or

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56 Kanai Kiyomitsu, *Jishū bungei to Ippen hōgo* (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 1987), 151.
57 Ibid.
58 Shinjō Tsunezō, *Shaji sanmō*, 108-109. See also Katsuura Noriko, "Ōrai henreki suru joseitachi," in *Tennō to ōken o kangaeru,* ed. Amino Yoshihiko (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002), 63.
59 Another example is Chikan bikuni who traveled in 1477 seeking funds to rebuild the Shinzō shrine. Shinjō, *Shaji sanmō,* 108. Also Katsuura, "*Ōrai henreki suru joseitachi,*" 62-64.
60 For a discussion on the history of puppeteers in English, see Jane Marie Law, *Puppets of Nostalgia: The Life, Death, and Rebirth of the Japanese Awaji ningyō Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). Also, Terry Kawashima, *Writing Margins: The Textual Construction of Gender in Heian and Kamakura Japan.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001). See part one, Female Entertainers.

epic stories were transmitted by women performers that were both religious and semi-religious.[61] *Miko*, maidens associated with Shinto practices, frequented the roads and offered fortune telling, song, and the chance to communicate with the departed or the divine.[62]

Medieval society believed the dead were capable of wreaking havoc on living individuals and upon society; it was thus important to offer prayers to those who had met untimely and violent deaths. Itinerant priest-musicians played the biwa at the sites of battlefields to soothe the souls of those who had died; the sound of the biwa was meant to aid the victims of war on a passage to a better world. Similar to the monks, the female Buddhists also sought to enlighten listeners with the grace of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

Beggar nuns also traveled the streets seeking alms in exchange for a sutra recitation or a story. *Hosshinshū,* compiled by Kamo no Chōme (1153-1216), includes the descriptions of wandering beggar nuns. Stories such as "The Matter of a Servant of the Shijō Empress Putting a Curse on a Person and Becoming a Beggar"[63] and "The Matter of a Mother Becoming Jealous of Her Daughter and the Mother's Fingers Turning into Snakes" tell how the root cause of a woman's deterioration is her jealousy. The women in these stories roam the streets as beggar nuns performing penance for their evil (jealous) thoughts. They seek alms and they tell their story as warning for others.

We also encounter many 'crazed' women traveling alone in Noh plays. The

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61 Shinjō, *Shaji sanmō,* 108.

62 Miko were also known to travel with male partners.

63 Terry Kawashima discusses this story's theme of jealousy. She comments that "the narrative focuses on the satisfaction of revenge, and the candid comment at the end, "there is nothing to be done", suggests that even a regretful heart is useless." Kawashima, *Writing Margins*, 268.

stories in the plays such as *Kashiwazaki, Miidera*, and *Sakuragawa* are about mothers who were separated from their children. This separation leads them into 'craziness' and they wander the medieval roads searching for their children. In most cases, when the mother is reunited with her child, her craziness dissipates.

Examples of other specific traveling nuns include some who used their unique appearance as a means for soliciting donations. A court diary from 1449 titled, *Yasutomi-ki,* records the bizarre arrival of a *shira bikuni* (white nun) in Kyoto from the Wakasa region. She claimed to be two-hundred years of age and was charging admission for people to see her. The same author makes note of another nun who arrived from the eastern regions, one who arrived with twenty others in her group and who gave lectures on the *Lotus Sutra*.[64]

While we can neither listen to these lectures nor read them since no records survive, there have been attempts to reconstruct the message that the proselytizers spread. The *Kumano bikuni*, or nuns of Kumano, have been recognized for their importance in acting as messengers of the Kumano faith. They traveled through the provinces teaching the faith in the Kumano Gongen, engaged with a wide and diverse audience, and collected funds for the maintenance of the Kumano shrines.

Kumano Gongen is located in Kii province, current Wakayama prefecture. Gongen is the collective of the three main shrines of Kumano: Hongū, Shingū, and

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[64] Another diary, *Gaun'nitsu kenroku* mentions a similar, if not the same nuns. Entry 1449 seventh month 26 day. He notes how he has heard that an old nun around 800 years old from the Wakasa region entered Kyoto. Wealthy people had to pay 100 *sen*, those without rank had to pay 10 *sen* to be allowed entrance to her hut. Also in *Setsutsunakyō ki,* 1449 sixth month eight day, the author notes that an 800 year old *shira bikuni* visited the palace. The author sees this as most bizarre and assumes it is a bad omen. Apparently she was supposed to visit the next day as well, but never showed up. For more on the old *shira bikuni*, see Tokuda Kazuo, "Ikei no Kanjin bikuni", in *Chūsei henrekimin no sekai,* ed. Amino Yoshihiko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990), 102-119.

Nachi. It was one of the very few sacred mountains women were allowed to climb. Its myth goes back to the beginning of the creation of Japan and has close ties to the imperial institutions. It was a land of divinity whose gods accepted all people, rich or poor, pure or sinful, man or woman, without conditions. Strongly connected with the afterlife, it was believed that a visit to Kumano would purify one of all the evil and sins committed in this world. A pilgrimage to Kumano was thus believed to bring health, longevity and a reassurance of a purified state for entering the afterlife. The popularity of Kumano was spread and maintained throughout Japan with the help of Kumano sendatsu, guides, and the Kumano bikuni.

Kumano Bikuni *Etoki*

One form of solicitation the Kumano bikuni used was *etoki,* a pictorial storytelling performance. Carrying paintings of mandalas connected to Kumano, the bikuni would perform for the audience while using the visuals of the colourful scroll to illustrate the story. It is easy to imagine the power of this teaching, as was demonstrated in a live presentation of an etoki at the Setagawa museum in Tokyo. On a Saturday in November, 2004, two Kumano bikuni enlightened their audience with the divine world of Kumano;

Standing in front of a large colourful screen the older of the Bikuni engaged the audience with a description of the hanging scroll. With vigour, humour, and wit, she captivated the audience as she conveyed the wonderful powers of the Kumano deities through the pictorial images. The painting in front of them, they were told, was the wonderful *Kumano kanshin jikkai mandara* (Visualization Mandala of Heart and

Ten-Worlds of Kumano).



Fig. 7 *Kumano kanshin jikkai mandara.* Source: *World Heritage: Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range. Treasures from Yoshino, Kumano and Koya*, ed. Osaka-shi bijutsukan (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun sha, NHK, 2004), 100.

In this complex picture the audience's gaze is guided to the central Chinese character, “heart”, for here, the Bikuni stated, lies the core of Kumano deities' compassion. The rainbow-like arch over top the character was crossed by a series of people, starting with an infant at the start of the rainbow, on the right, to an old figure at the end of rainbow, on the left. They are lucky, they are told, if they reach this end. For along the way of life there are the numerous challenges, temptations, starvations, and illnesses that could alter one's course. The underworld, depicted on the bottom half of the scroll, demonstrates the various scary realms one may enter if not purified.

The Bikuni guided the audience through the complexities of this portrayed world, selecting scenes that further added to the drama and fears of what one can find in the underworld. Like a well-told story, the Bikuni carefully inspired certain chosen emotions in her audience. She inspired the trust of the audience with her confident voice, authoritative knowledge, and engaging theatrics. The Bikuni carefully and skilfully demonstrated the need for the audience to consider the state they are in life and the inevitable dark-path that awaits each and everyone. Yet, one is not to give up hope, for there, in the center, were the divine Kumano deities whose powers could never be undermined. To receive the benefit of this divine power, people were told, would require visiting Kumano or making an offering to Kumano. However, since Tokyo is far away from Kumano, the Bikuni displayed another screen. This one, titled *Nachi sanmō mandara* (pilgrim to Nachi), depicted the pilgrim areas around and at the Nachi shrine in Kumano. Viewing the representation of Kumano on the screen, the Bikuni assured the audience, had the same merit as visiting Kumano in person.



Fig. 8 *Nachi sanmō mandara*. Source: *World Heritage: Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range. Treasures from Yoshino, Kumano and Koya*, ed. Osaka-shi bijutsukan (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun sha, NHK, 2004), 98.

At the end of the presentation the younger bikuni walked around the audience with a cup in hand, ready to receive donations. Inspired by the performance, and the cry for donation by the Bikuni, the audience eagerly dropped their money into the cup. To their delight, for each donation a leaf was given in receipt. Not any leaf, but a *nagi* leaf from the nagi tree growing in the grounds of Kumano. A true karmic connection was thus made between the donor and Kumano.

The Kumano Bikuni was in fact a man, Yamamoto Shigeo, from the Kumano (Shingū) educational committee. Taking the hair veil off after the presentation, he apologized for not being a true Kumano Bikuni, and lamented how there are no longer Kumano bikuni able to perform etoki. With no scripts from the days when the 'real' Kumano bikuni traveled, Yamamoto re-created his narration based on his understanding

of the history of Kumano, the mandalas, and the known history of the bikuni. The performance itself at the Setagawa museum was one of the many events hosted in honour of Kumano, Yoshino and Kōya being recognized as a world heritage sites.

The roles of Kumano bikuni before the fifteenth century are unknown. The first mention of female kanjin in Kumano proper is from 1427 when a nun stood at the bridge in Nachi and solicited alms in exchange for stories of Kumano.[65] Other female proselytizers before this were known to walk and encourage public contributions for services devoted to the Buddha. The kanjin bikuni, Dōsen and Dōkan, form such a prelude to the Kumano bikuni. Their activities in the early fourteenth century included production of religious relics of the Kumano deities in the northern provinces. For this project they were able to create a karmic connection with ten thousand, three hundred and thirty three people.[66]

Kumano, the site, was an important location for Ippen and the Yugyō school as well as many other jishū groups.[67] Scholars such as Akai Tatsurō have linked the activities of the Kumano bikuni with the jishū. He suggests that the Kumano bikuni, who distributed nagi leaves as part of their proselytization, would replenish their supply of nagi leaves at jishū dōjō.[68] Speculations have been made towards a connection between female itinerants, such as the Kumano bikuni, and the influence of the jishū.[69]

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65 Katsuura, "*Ōrai henreki suru joseitachi,*" 64. From *Kumano mōde nikki*, entry 1427, Tenth month, first day.
66 Ibid. See also Shinjō, *Shaji sanmō*, 109.
67 Within the text *Ryōzen Kokua Shōnin*, Kumano bikuni sing of distributing the nagi leaf. See for example, Yamamoto Shigeo, "Kumano bikuni no haisatsu," *Sangaku Shugen,* no 23 (March 1999), 53.
68 Akai Tatsurō, "Kumano bikuni to nagi no ha," Nihon bijutsu kogei, 571 (4. 1986), 58.
69 See *Kumano-shi shi* (Kumano: Kumano city, 1983), 777. And Yanagita Kunio, in "James H. Foard. Seiganji: The Buddhist Orientation of a Noh Play." *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 4 (winter 1980): 440. In addition the legend of Oguri Hangan, as seen in stories such "Oguri hangan Terute hime "links Kumano and the jishū. See Jishū no

Conclusion

It appears the Kumano bikuni did not travel with male companions, yet the Kumano cult was promoted by male ascetics, such as sendatsu and yamabushi. Gendered pairs, such as miko and yamabushi are known to have traveled as 'husband-wife.' Imai Masaharu, as mentioned in the introduction, theorizes that Ippen included women in his fellowship for their alluring singing voices, for the combination of the male and female voice, to attract a large crowd.[70] Itinerant proselytizers, such as hijiri, Kumano bikuni, sendatsu and oshi all had their own method of soliciting and promoting their religious cause. Jishū were not unique as proselytizers, they were however, unique insofar as on their travels they were considered bodhisattvas.

When we consider that taking the tonsure and taking to the road was one of the few viable options open to all, it is not surprising to then find numerous people from different backgrounds joining itinerant groups such as the Yugyō school. Unconfined by the walls of a convent, pairs and groups of women in their religious robes traveled and preached to wide and diverse audiences. While it was perhaps rare for one to become a female jishū, it was not unimaginable.

The Yugyō school, as explained in chapter one, did not remain exclusively an itinerant organization. It soon built a network of practice halls throughout the provinces.

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bijutsu to bungeiten jikkōinkai., ed. *Jishū no bijutsu to bungei*, 159.

[70] Imai Masaharu, "*Ippen to jōsei,*" 133-139. Also in "Ippen to jishū no ama oyobi jōsei," *Ippen to chūsei no jishū* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 2000), 26-35. As examined in chapter three, within the yugyō documents on itinerancy, no mention is made regarding the importance of the singing voices of the jishū. Perhaps it was so common place that it did not merit mention. Yet, one would suspect if it was vital for attracting audiences and an important reason for the inclusion of women, as Imai speculates, some indication would surface. Instead, the documents from the yugyō school that describe the female jishū indicated that they were skilled in gathering and preparing food, as messengers, as well as assisting those in need during battle.

The next chapter will examine the life of these jishū within their living and practicing space. In the uprooted, fluid, and unpredictable world found in itinerancy, the andocentric doctrines had little influence. What then happened to the group and their practices within a stable and structured space?

Chapter 5
Division of Gender by Space and Rules

Placed in the corner of history and covered with the dust of neglect are the female teachers of Buddhism. The patriarchal rhetoric and androcentric language in the Buddhist scriptures have limited the recognition of female contributors. While gender segregation within Buddhist training appears to be the norm, the example of the jishū group during the fourteenth century offers a different historical narrative of women's participation within a Buddhist organization. The group offered opportunities for all members to preach and travel, regardless of gender or one's background.

This chapter will investigate the gender relations and social interactions within the jishū practice halls. The practice halls, or dōjō, reveal a unique space where both male and female adherents lived and practiced together, but to the best of our knowledge remained celibate. While the danger of male-female interaction was voiced from both within and without the order, all the significant jishū dōjō were mixed-gendered.

The construction of Yugyō jishū dōjō in the early fourteenth century shifted the Ippen school of jishū's culture from one of itinerancy to one of setting roots in communities. Ta'amidabutsu Shinkyō, the self-claimed successor to Ippen, felt it necessary to establish practice halls. These halls in his vision could provide a permanent physical space from which his jishū could concentrate on spreading and maintaining their religious message for the surrounding community. He organized a residence at Taima dōjō in 1304 and subsequently sent various jishū to reside in other provincial practice halls.

Gender-based divisions within this group did not appear to be a concern prior to the creation of these permanent practice halls.[1] Later, concerns were voiced by provincial dōjō patrons troubled by the interaction that occurred between monks and nuns. Shinkyō addressed these concerns by suggesting that the dōjō form a division of space and thus create a boundary between the sexes. Though both the monks and nuns continued to live and practice under the same roof, a gradual insistence developed on the need for physical boundaries between them. This topic is evident through Shinkyō's correspondence and through the visual representation of the spatial gender division, such as seen on the *Engi-e*, the pictorial scroll commissioned by Shinkyō.

One approach toward understanding the overall culture of Yugyō jishū is to analyze the arrangement of space within its practice halls. Within the context of a set of practices the organization of space can help define the relationship among the people, things or concepts in that specific context.[2] Daphne Spain in her work, *Gendered Spaces,* proposes that architecture reflects the ideas and realities of the relationship between women and men.[3] Her analysis of gender through a spatial perspective offers a valuable tool for understanding the relationships of the Yugyō jishū group. As well, Henrietta Moore, in *Space, Text and Gender,* poses the question "How does the organization of space come to have meaning?"[4] An examination of issues specific to the gendered space of the Yugyō school dōjō demonstrates the important role that the gender division of space plays in understanding the changes that occurred in the jishū social order.

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[1] Some documents on gender regulations of the Yugyō school have been attributed to Ippen. The term jishū is gender neutral and Ippen regarded his jishū followers as beyond gender.

[2] Henrietta L. Moore, *Space, Text and Gender* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 125.

[3] Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 7.

[4] Moore, *Space, Text and Gender,* 115.

Of all the topics generated by the mixed gender cohabitation, the foremost reoccurring subject was the problem of illicit sexual behaviour. A central tenet of Buddhism is the belief that desire is the source of all suffering. The most dangerous desire is the desire for the sexual body, and it is especially dangerous if the body is female. Shinkyō wrote many letters addressed to various provincial dōjō leaders and patrons in which he defined and explained the evil associated with sexual desire directed at the opposite sex. On the other hand, another reason for celibacy, it appears, was to prevent the birth of children. Not only were the jishū members forbidden to procreate, but by the fifteenth century, it was ordered that any child born of a jishū would be denied entrance into the Yugyō school order.

Edward W. Soja states in *Postmodern Geographies* that "space itself may be primordially given, but the organization, use, and meaning of space is a product of social translations, transformation and experience."[5] Building on concepts from Henri Lefebvre, he further postulates that "the spatial organization of human society is an evolving product of human action, a form of social construction arising within the physical frame of ubiquitous, contextual space but clearly distinguishable from it."[6] He asserts that organized space has its roots in social origin and is filled with social meanings. He concurs with Lefebvre's statement that "space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies."[7]

Daphne Spain demonstrates that architectural and geographic spatial arrangements reinforce status difference between men and women. When these gendered

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[5] Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* (New York: Verso, 1989), 80.
[6] Edward Soja, "The Socio-Spatial Dialectic" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers.* vol 70 (June, 1980), 210.
[7] Soja, *Postmodern Geographies,* 80. The quatation is from Lefebvre,"Reflections of the Politics of Space," trans. M. Enders, *Antipode,* 8 (1976), 31.

space are then reinforced through time they become institutionalized and will then continue to maintain that spatial segregation.[8] To Spain, access to the knowledge valued by society is key to status enhancement.[9] Those in control of knowledge are those in power, and this power relationship will often then be inscribed into the building's space. One's status is evident in where one is positioned within such space. One's position within space and even one's absence are all important considerations when analyzing gender stratification of spatial arrangements.

A study of the use of space within the Yugyō school dōjō can help us understand the ideologies and social 'culture' of the jishū. For example, what were the spatial arrangements between the men and women of the jishū community, and what was the significance of that arrangement?

There are two surviving Yugyō school dōjō from the fourteenth century: Onomichi dōjō in Hiroshima prefecture and Masuda dōjō in Shimane prefecture. Both these dōjō and Jishū dōjō today maintain a similar layout which suggests that the spatial arrangement first established centuries ago still continues to service the needs of the religious cause of the Jishū.

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[8] See Spain, *Gendered Spaces*, 3-7.
[9] Ibid., 233.

Medieval Jishū Dōjō, Saigōji (Onomichi dōjō)



Fig. 9 Dōjō scene from *Engi-e*. Shinkyō sits in the center, surrounded by jishū and lay members. Note the jishū are divided by a space directly in front of Shinkyō. The monks are to Shinkyō left - upper section of the picture, the nuns to the right. Source: *Yugyō shōnin engi-e,* in Nihon emakimono zenshū, 23 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1968), 68.

A mental journey to Onomichi dōjō will give us an understanding of how the space within a Yugyō jishū dōjō was organized. We begin this journey at the Seto inland sea where we disembark at Onomichi bay and stroll towards the western mountains. At the end of one seemingly random narrow road, an old gate appears within one's vision. The engraving on the tall stone beside the gate informs the visitor of the name of this structure: Saigōji, temple of the West inland. There are a few steps before the gate, and the view beyond the gate is limited; one can see only the green of the mountain and the surrounding elementary school buildings. Within the gate, one is no longer aware of the world left behind.

The space within the gate, which once was a religious (political) space with music (chanting) and dancing (ritualized), now offers itself as one of the many local

temple destinations for tourists visiting Onomichi, Hiroshima prefecture. The place is no longer an active jishū dōjō. Even the head monk holds an office job in another city and returns only on the weekends. The religious significance and importance of this property is no longer as it was in the years of medieval and pre-modern Japan. During that time its walls held a significant space that surrounded the main structure. It included at least twelve residences for the monks and nuns along the road to the main building and five branch temples within Onomichi. But the casual visitor at this almost dead-end street does not know this when they encounter the gate.

Visitors who brave the steps and cross over the gate may at first be surprised at the simple structure and environment in front of them. It does not inspire awe, but it is inviting. One feels welcomed and intrinsically feels respect for the structure and the space. The single-story, oblong, dark-wood building is framed with an elegant *kawara* roof that slopes upward at the edges, directing the eyes towards the sky. The short distance from the entrance gate to the building is covered by gravel, except for a central stone path which leads the visitor straight to the centre of the building.[10]

[10] There is another building, just out of sight, but connected to the central structure by a covered hallway. One can detect enough clues to assume this building is the house of those in charge of the temple.



Fig. 10 *Onomichi dōjō.* Source: photograph by C. Griffiths, 2004.

Should the visitor be lucky, the shutter gates to the main building will be open, inviting one to step within. Inside, a vast space opens up; only columns obstruct the visitor's view and only a knee-high divider informs one where the interior boundaries are. The tranquil space inside the temple is experienced through a flooding natural light which contrasts with the dark wood. A peaceful gold Amida Buddha statue stands as the focal point of the space. Should the visitor wish to make an offering, the alms collection box is under a carved frame.[11] After throwing a few coins into the box and clapping hands to make a prayer, the visitor will be surprised and delighted to hear a rhythmic high-pitched echo, a sound that represents the call of a dragon. This sound trick, a product of the entrance's ceiling, was part of the original structure but it had been forgotten. Centuries of patch-works to the ceiling had silenced the 'dragon'. It was only during the restoration in

[11] Hanging in the center is a framed carving with the inscription, Saieji; temple of the West Bay. Those who pay attention to the stone carving outside the gate will be puzzled by the name change. Somewhere along the way, from the carving of this frame in 1354 to the refurbishment of the temple in 1965, the temple's name was transformed from the temple of the west 'bay' to temple of the west 'inland'. This change likely indicates the new surrounding, as no doubt the development and landfill shifted the temple 'back' to the inland.

1965 that this construction method and musical trick was (re)discovered.

The entrance section, along with its the special ceiling, had always served the community, much as it welcomes the tourists today. In front of this area, demarked by a low gate, are the inner sections. The centre of the three sections is distinguished ceremoniously from the surrounding area by short hanging *sudare*, bamboo blinds, which are attached to the pillars enshrining the central Amida Buddha statue. This space, which was reserved for the Amida Buddha and the leader of the dōjō, is the *nai-jin*, inner section. Larger than most typical temple nai-jin, the space was allocated with the need to perform a ritualized dance.[12] From the pictorial scrolls the impression gained of a medieval jishū nembutsu dance is an image of a rather large and wild performance that took place outside on a specially constructed platform. However, with the establishment of dōjō the dancing performance was toned down. A typical performance would involve the jishū group circling the inner section while chanting and shuffling their feet in unison.

The spaces to the right and to the left of the nai-jin are divided equally. *Minami waki-jin* (south side-section) and *Kita waki-jin* (north side-section) are slightly smaller than the inner section and have *tatami* mats for the comfort for those who attend a service. Today the waki-jin are used by patrons of the temple when they attend a service (most likely a funeral service) and there are even western-style chairs available for those not comfortable sitting on the floor for a long duration. During the medieval period these sides would be reserved for the jishū. The space for the monks was to the left of the Buddha statue while to the right was the space for the nuns.

[12] For the structural layout of the dōjō see, Itō Nobuo, "Jishū no kenchiku*,"* in *Bukkyō geijutsu,* no. 185 (1989): 104 -111.

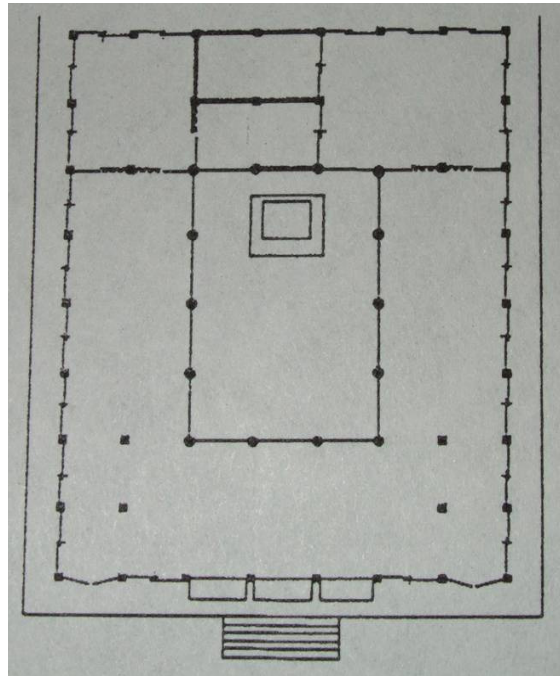


Fig. 11 *Structural layout of Onomichi dōjō.* Source: Itō Nobuo, "Jishū no kenchiku*," Bukkyō geijutsu,* no. 185 (1989):110.

The focal point of the jishū dōjō was the inner section; within this space was the Buddha and the figure who represented him, the leader of the dōjō. Jishū might on occasion enter this realm, but it would only be when they provided services for the figure represented in that space. These services took the form of ritual dancing or cleaning of the area. This central section was where the "knowledge" transpired. The area surrounding the inner section was for the jishū, the right section for the nuns and the left section for the monks. No physical boundaries separated the side-sections or obstructed the communication between those in the side-sections and the inner section. Both sides had identical access to the leader. Therefore, one can assume that teaching, information, and knowledge was addressed to all without distinction.

When one considers the reciprocal relationship between the social construction

of space and the spatial construction of social relations,[13] this jishū dōjō layout would lead one to believe that the nuns' positions were comparable to the monks. Spain has argued that if all resources and knowledge are divided equally between the women-space and men-space then spatial arrangements make no difference.[14] Therefore, in the case of the jishū, although there was a right/left division between the sexes, it is likely all resources and knowledge were transmitted uniformly. Following Spain's logic, it is not surprising that within this mixed-gendered community women held important roles and positions, up to and including leadership roles. The fourth leader of Onomichi dōjō, for example, was the nun Dai'ichibō.[15]

At the very back of Onomichi dōjō, hidden from the main hall, are four rooms, named the *go-jin*, back section. Three of them now serve as storage and one is used as a private meeting room. There is a legend told that one of these rooms was used to shelter Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358) before he became Shogun. Apparently he had sought refuge at Onomichi dōjō after being defeated in a battle in the south. He stayed several months while he waited for an appropriate time to resurface. Frustration at his long confinement led to impatient outbursts of sword swinging, and the resulting marks left by his sword can be seen throughout the room.[16] No documented proof is available to verify this account, but the Amida Buddha statue, the one still standing in the center of the dōjō, was a gift from Ashikaga Takauji.[17]

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[13] Spain, *Gendered Spaces*, 29.
[14] Ibid., 27.
[15] This will be discussed in chapter six.
[16] Story told during an interview at Saigoji. Dec. 2004.
[17] *Onomichishi shi, jōkan* (Kyoto: Onomichishi yakusho, 1939), 765.

Manpukuji (Masuda Dōjō)[18]

The other surviving fourteenth century jishū dōjō is Masuda dōjō. Situated close to the Masuda river running through the town of Masuda in Shimane prefecture, this dōjō, better known as Manpukuji, was constructed for and maintained by the Masuda clan, the lords of Nanao castle.



Fig. 12 *Masuda dōjō.* Source: Mr. Ogino, "Manpukuji," http://blog.goo.ne.jp/ogino_2006/m/200907.

Architectural historian, Itō Nobuo, has identified the architecture of Masuda dōjō and Onomichi dōjō as being the same and that the dōjō style represented a simple residential building.[19] The interior layout of Masuda dōjō is almost identical to that of Onomichi dōjō, with the division of space for the Buddha (Chishiki), monks, nuns, and the lay community.

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18 Survives from 1374. In current, Shimane prefecture, Masuda city. Negita notes the name of this dōjō as Seiryū dōjō. See Negita Shūran, *Jishū no teradera* (Shizuoka: Mishima shuppan, 1980), 377.

19 Itō, "Jishū no kenchiku," 109. The main difference of the structure of the two buildings is that Masuda dōjō is larger than Onomichi dōjō. The outer dimensions for Masuda dōjō are roughly 17 by 17 meters, those of Onomichi dōjō are roughly 15 by 14 meters.

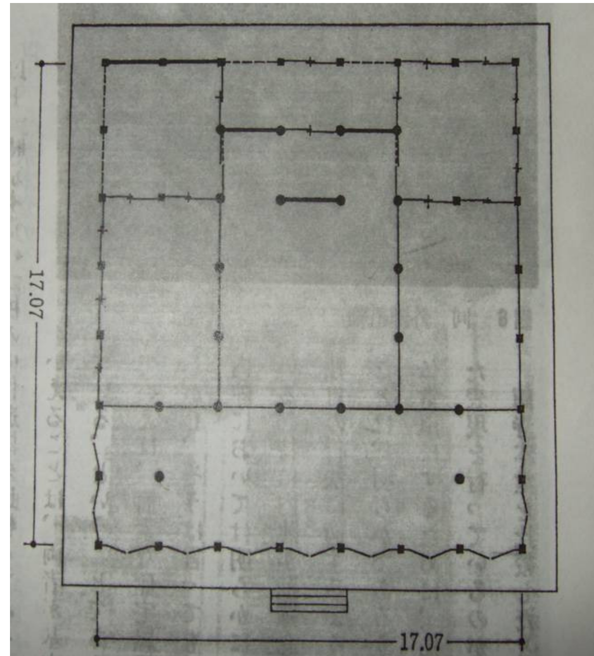


Fig. 13 *Structural layout of Masuda dōjō*. Source: Itō Nobuo, "Jishū no kenchiku," *Bukkyō geijutsu,* no. 185 (1989):110.

Activities at the dōjō - rituals and services - were intended to create religious merit. This merit was transferred or transferable to other living beings. This belief in the accrual of merit was one reason for the proliferation of dōjō and temples in medieval Japan.[20] Onomichi dōjō was sponsored largely by the local community. Masuda dōjō on the other hand was sponsored by the Masuda clan. When a patron or family clan was the sponsor, additional merit-making was pursued for the sponsor's benefit, both in this world and the next. The construction of dōjō and temples enhanced the authority of the patron and clan family because it gave access to the rituals and services of the temple to other members of the clan and to members of the local society.[21]

In 1479, Masuda Kanetaka (-1485), the fifteenth lord of Nanao castle, invited

[20] See for example, William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993).
[21] Brown, "Warrior and Patronage," 436.

the famous painter, Sesshū (1420 - 1506) to his estate.[22] During his stay Sesshū was commissioned to design a garden for Masuda dōjō. This zen garden, designated as a National Place of Scenic Beauty, continues to attract visitors today.

Jishū Dōjō

A document titled *Tōzai sayō shō*, (Summary of conduct at all times and places) written in 1342 by Takuga, the seventh Yugyō hijiri, provides enough clues to offer some sense of the overall layout and size of a Yugyō school dōjō in Kyoto, the Shichijō dōjō. There was one main practice hall where the services and rituals were conducted. A verandah surrounded the outside of the building with sliding doors that led into the dōjō. There were tatami mats in the central section, which also held an image of Amida. Within the grounds was a bathhouse, as well as separate residences for monks and nuns. The dōjō grounds were probably of a good size judging by the regulation that required a jishū to inform others before going out alone, even if they were not leaving the dōjō grounds.[23]

Okunotani dōjō, as noted in the introduction was converted to the Yugyō school

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22 Sesshū's portrait of Kanetaka has been designated as an Important Cultural Properties of Japan.

23 It is difficult to compare the spatial layout of the jishū dōjō with other contemporary dōjō of the time due to deficiencies of information and surviving buildings. Chionin Seishidō in Kyoto survives from 1530 and is perhaps a representative example of a contemporary non-jishū Amida practice hall. This hall resembles the jishū dōjō in the layout of the three sanctuaries. However, there is a significant distinction. A door, *shitomido*, divides the inner sanctuary from the rest of the hall. This suggests that access to the central Buddha figure, as well as the leader, was limited within the Chionin Seishidō. A physical barrier like the one found in Chionin does not appear to have been a part of the jishū dōjō. Although it would have been easy to install a door, the structural history of the two surviving jishū dōjō from the fourteenth century suggest there was never a divider to obstruct the full view of the centre. One can speculate from this absence of partitioning that the spatial arrangement of the jishū dōjō never denied either side access to the centre area despite the institutionalization of a right/left divide.

in 1344, with the passing of their leader, nun Chin'ichibō.[24] Not much is known of this dōjō after its conversion to the Yugyō school.[25] The practice hall was located in a thriving hot-spring, *onsen*, district, and it is plausible that the dōjō hosted some baths as other jishū temples in the area also offered bath services. It is known that in 1585 the temple complex contained nine halls. In front of the gate, to the right, was the monk's quarters of six houses, and to the left was the nun's quarters, also with six houses.[26]

Among the numerous jishū dōjō (of which not all were related to Ippen or Shinkyō) there were a few important dōjō near the central authorities of the warrior government, and the court nobilities. For example, within Kyoto there were three prominent jishū dōjō; Shichijō dōjō, Rokujō dōjō and Shijō dōjō. All were held in importance by the court nobility within Kyoto. Closer to Kamakura, and located en-route between the two centers, were Taima dōjō and Fujisawa dōjō. The original physical appearance of Taima dōjō and the grounds surrounding it when Shinkyō and his jishū occupied it is unknown today. In one of his letters Shinkyō remarked "I do not have my garden adorned with hills and ponds, or with planted trees and such."[27] Based on Shinkyō's renunciation of physical comfort and abandon worldly attachments, one could conclude that the dōjō would have been a simple construct, at least within the complex.

Initially a Yugyō school dōjō consisted of a single building in which the monks

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[24] It has also been suggested that this location was Ippen's birth place, for example in *Jishū jiten,* 305. However this is not mentioned in Takuga's document.

[25] Okunotani dōjō, or Hōgonji, originally a Tendai temple, was converted to a jishū practice hall by Sen'a in 1292. The location is close to Ippen's birthplace, and local sources note that Sen'a was Ippen's brother. See Negita, *Jishū no teradera*, 412. However, in the introduction to *Jōjō gyōgi hosoku,* Takuga mentions Sen'a as Ippen's *hōtei*, disciple.

[26] The nine halls were, hon-dō, kaisan-dō, okunoin, bishamon-dō, jizo-dō, chinju-sha, sōri, sakura-mon, and sō-mon. In 1715 most of the temple's grounds were seized by the government, and, although it is unclear what happened to the land during the next century, it became the designated pleasure quarter for the area during the Meiji period. Negita, *Jishū no teradera,* 412.

[27] Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 141-142.

and nuns practiced and lived. However, the gradual increase in the order's influence made it possible for dormitories to be built. Over time most dōjō built dormitories to house the monks, nuns, and other members who helped with the maintenance of the temple grounds (the third class being those who were not jishū but were under the protection of them). It became rare for the monks and nuns to sleep under the same roof. The services and practices were, however, still conducted together and specific services did require monks and nuns to sleep overnight within the main hall.

Medieval Dōjō

Yugyō school or jishū were not the only religious groups to have dōjō. A medieval Japanese dōjō was a place for training in the Buddhist way; a place where the Buddha was worshipped and the Buddhist way practiced. It was also a place for both the religious and laity to gather for teaching and chanting. Some dōjō also functioned as monasteries; a figure or scroll of worship would be on display and within its walls monks and nuns would train and reside. Such dōjō differed from the monastic temples primarily in scale; dōjō were smaller and did not have the same grandeur as the temples.[28] Dōjō also functioned and existed as a space for those who had no other home, a space for travelers to rest, and a space for the local community to come by for spiritual teaching and entertainment.[29]

Kanda Chisato's research into the dōjō space concludes that dōjō were a space

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[28] For definition of dōjō and *tera* see Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo daijiten, shukusatsu-ban* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2000), 1015 and 978. See also Inagaki Hisao, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodō, 1985), 486.

[29] Kanda Chisato, "Chūsei no dōjō ni okeru shi to shukke," *Shigaku zasshi* 97, no. 9 (1988): 3.

where one expected to achieve *gokuraku ōjō,* 'Birth in the Land of Utmost Bliss (of Amida Buddha),' after death.[30] Death in a dōjō, or in front of a Buddha statue, was considered an auspicious death. Having a symbolic tie with a dōjō also merited benefit. The most common form of a relationship with a dōjō was to have one's name recorded down and placed in the dōjō. This way, even if death was not accomplished within the dōjō ground, the individual was enlightened and could still achieve rebirth in Amida Pure Land.

Endo Hajime in his study on Jōdo shinshū, a non-monastic, family-oriented form of religion, suggests that these community-based, voluntary religious associations were not segregated by gender and that women enjoyed considerable participation and status.[31] With Shinran (1173-1262) as its acknowledged founder, this sect promoted marriage and family life as a legitimate context for Buddhist practices. Their congregation was mixed gendered, but based on the family - unit of husband, wife, and children.

Endo Hajime states that "Japan's ubiquitous Buddhist temples evolved mostly out of congregations rather than monasteries. The congregation has thus exerted substantial influence on the shape of Japanese Buddhism."[32] And in these congregations, "women participated alongside men."[33] While the jishū did not promote family as did the Jōdo shinshū, the jishū female members were considered valuable participants of their order.

As noted by Endō Hajime, it was not especially unique to integrate women within one's congregation. The problem, then, was not the women themselves, but the

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30 Kanda, "*Chūsei no dōjō ni okeru shi to shukke*," 26.
31 Endo Hajime, "*The Original Bōmori,*" in *Engendering Faith, Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan.* ed., Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002), 501.
32 Ibid., 501.
33 Ibid.

sexual desire and lust that resulted from the mixture of men and women, and, more specifically, the problem should such liaisons become public.[34] Within the mixed gendered jishū group the interaction between the sexes, regardless of intentions, must have resulted in assumptions of illicit nature. The new provincial dōjō likely had to deal with the suspicious eyes of the public.

During Ippen and Shinkyō's itinerant journeys the membership of jishū was limited and under the direct supervision of the charismatic leader. Disorder among the members was kept to a minimum. Shinkyō had a challenging task of controlling, organizing, and maintaining the confraternity that had been started by Ippen. When he sought to expand and establish roots, the issue of the mixed gender community became more of a problem. The creation of new dōjō, the increase in jishū membership, and the physical distance between the members and the leader, all contributed to an increase in opportunity for sexual liaisons among the jishū. In addition, Kanai Kiyomitsu attributes the increase of problems between the monks and nuns to the relative leisure and ease of living within the dōjō. As members began to receive a steady source of 'income' through donations and sponsorships of patrons and parishioners, their lifestyle diverged markedly from the mendicant followers of Ippen.[35] The next section analyzes the regulations and

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[34] Examining modern group dynamics, W. R. Bion, in his work *Experiences in Groups,* provides a basis for understanding the working of groups and the group phenomena. In his experience with groups Bion observed a recurring pattern of behaviour. When two members of the group became involved in a discussion, the assumption made by the group members witnessing the interplay was that the pair's interaction was a sexual one. This basic assumption was present regardless of the topic of conversation or the gender of the individuals having the conversation. He states that "it is clear that two people in a group can be meeting together for any number of purposes other than those of sex; there must, therefore, be considerable conflict between the desire of the pair to pursue the aim they have consciously in mind, and the emotions derived from the basic assumption that two people can be meeting for only one purpose, and that a sexual one." W. R. Bion, *Experiences in Groups and Other Papers* (London: Routledge, 1961, 2006), 62.
[35] Kanai, *Ippen to jishū kyōdan,* 272.

codes of conduct recorded by the Yugyō school leaders for the mixed gendered congregations.

Regulations for Mixed Gendered Dōjō

Shinkyō sought patronage and support from the warrior, merchant and farming communities while traveling through the eastern provinces for the sixteen years of his itinerancy. He gradually organized and led the few itinerant bands of monks and nuns of Ippen's group into a large and influential organization. Seeking further stability, he established Taima dōjō, a permanent practice hall.

Shinkyō had created a 'place', a static, fixed and stabilized location where he could construct and ground his rule. A dōjō was created as a place to connect with the public and as a permanent centre for the training towards enlightenment.[36] However he was also cautious and was careful to not lose his sect's identity as an itinerant group. He chose a successor, Chitoku, to continue with the itinerant mission and carry on Shinkyō's religious name, 'Ta'amidabutsu.' The order could thus continue in its original form and maintain the hijiri tradition, exemplified by Ippen, of a 'wandering' religious group. The establishment of permanent jishū centers, at the same time, created a dual 'rooted' religious group.

Shinkyō was able to employ the patronage of the warriors by convincing them to provide dōjō and land for his sect. According to one of Shinkyō's letters, there were over one hundred dōjō throughout the country, most of which were located in Eastern Japan. These dōjō took many forms: a room within a patron's home, a hut within the patron's

[36] *Jishū jiten,* 253.

property, an abandoned structure refurbished as a dōjō, or a new structure built on donated land. These dōjō likely contained an object for worship, such as a hanging scroll with the rendering of the nembutsu, an image of Amida Buddha or a picture of Ippen.[37] Shinkyō wrote in one of his letters that these practice halls served as a centre for attracting new patrons and followers: "jishū who staff these practice halls have opportunities to preach to local people, who consequently awaken the aspiration for enlightenment and birth in the Pure Land."[38]

Shinkyō was greatly concerned about the public image of the jishū. Tales of medieval Japan, as seen in *setsuwa* collections, for example, often tell stories of monks violating the precept of celibacy. This violation was seen as an endangerment of the authority of Buddhist establishments, especially if the illicit sexual relationship between the monk and woman became public knowledge. It was suggested and urged that monks avoid women at all costs; even the most devoted could not escape the temptation of lust. Janet Goodwin offers that "[l]ust thus appears as a force of nature rather than an impulse of human agency. Many tales preach avoidance for clergy, caution for laymen – whose progress toward enlightenment was endangered by desire – and self-concealment for women. But the fact that monks are often portrayed in the throes of desire suggests that clerical celibacy was the most pressing issue."[39] Those in pursuit of enlightenment must avoid the temptation of lust, and to do so, must avoid contact with women. Nuns, too, were expected to remain celibate, and several stories tell of the dangers should they be seen to have contact with a man.

It would seem odd, then, that a religious group like the Yugyō school, which

[37] The jishū sent to the local dōjō were by proxy a *chishiki.*
[38] Brown, "Warrior Patronage," 407.
[39] Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles*, 49.

claimed celibacy, would not only interact and practice with the opposite sex, but travel and live together. Contemporary criticism was naturally aimed at the group. The *Tengu-zōshi* depicts Ippen and his band of jishū as "those who look and act strange" and describes their dancing and chanting as a vociferous performance resembling wild horses and monkeys.[40] Another contemporary account from 1295 titled *Nomori no kagami* records similar criticisms against Ippen and his teachings, recording their shameless display of body parts during the dance, and refers to the group as *gedō*, heretics.[41]

Trying to break free of such impressions, Shinkyō established permanent residences, restricted the dancing to a stylized form, and issued regulations and rules for the group. He did not, however, exclude women from participating in his jishū group. If the mixed gendered characteristic of the group had undermined Shinkyō's attempts to spread and place roots, then he could have simply stopped the admittance of women. However, women continued to participate as valuable jishū members. Even though many of the records bring up negative events involving nuns, and the prescription of rules are very concerned with misbehavior between nuns and monks, at least during the medieval period, there was never a move to do away with the mixed gendered community. Along with the few mentions of leadership roles for women within this community, this fact does speak volumes about the importance of women to this religious enterprise.

The rules Shinkyō established, called *Dōjō seimon* (Regulations for the Dōjō), underlined the importance of dedicating one's practice to the nembutsu and the vital role of the leader in guiding followers on the path to Pure Land.[42] Shinkyō, as the leader,

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40 *Tengu zōshi*, in *Nihon emakimono zenshū,* vol. 27 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1978), 90.
41 Minomoto Arifusa, *"Nomori kagami,"* in *Shinkō gunsho ruijū,* vol. 21, ed. Kawamata Kei'ichi (Tokyo: Naigai shoseki kabushiki kaisha, 1930), 248.
42 For details of the dōjō rules, see Ōhashi Shunnō, *Jishū no seiritsu to tenkai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1973), 160-174.

assumed ultimate authority and defined the standards of religious life for the order.[43] This set of rules also dealt with the problems of sexual attraction. Shinkyō wrote that any sexual activity by a jishū would render that jishū a false Buddhist practitioner. Furthermore, sexual acts would make it impossible for the guilty jishū to achieve birth in the Pure Land.[44] A jishū who succumbed to temptation "should not be permitted to be in the same room or to share seats and must be expelled from the assembly."[45]

Concern over male-female attachment was directed to both monks and nuns. For example, nun Shōamidabutsu who belonged to San'ichibō's dōjō, is mentioned in Shinkyō's letter as someone who had concealed her attachment until the very end.[46] Furthermore, during her final moments, she stopping her chanting and asked for someone to hold her hand. Since the chanting of the name at the end of one's life was of utmost importance, Shinkyō recorded Shōamidabutsu's action as "extremely shameful." Shinkyō faulted Shōamidabutsu for remaining attached to the secular world: "not distancing your heart from even family relations, this indeed is what becomes love-attachment."[47] It was not only women forming attachments (or keeping their attachments) that concerned Shinkyō. In another section, he criticizes the jishū monks who formed attachments to the nuns.

> To take the tonsure for the purpose of enlightenment, and having made the vow to the Chishiki, ... to become friendly and close to a nun results in feelings of attraction. Then the vow to the Chishiki is no longer as you would devote yourself to the nun. This way of the heart cannot complement the Buddha

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43 Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 78.
44 In Ōhashi Shunnō, *Jishū niso Ta'a Shōnin hōgo* (Tokyo: Ōkura shuppan, 1975), 8.
45 Brown, "Warrior Patronage," 490.
46 The following is recorded in, Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 142.
47 Ibid.

[Chishiki's] wishes and [you] will not achieve rebirth.[48]

To address growing concerns, Shinkyō suggested creating a spatial division in the dōjō between the monks and nuns. This division was to be wide enough to keep them out of reaching distance.[49] This allocation of separate nun and monk sides in the dōjō can be seen in the Shinkyō sponsored *Engi-e* pictorial scroll. Such division or distinction cannot be found within the *Hijiri-e* scroll. The use of the *jūnikōbako*, box of twelve lights, as a boundary to separate the monks and nuns is found both in the pictures and in the text of the *Engi-e*.[50] The importance of a spatial gender division likely arose after the establishment of dōjō when the increase in the number of jishū groups inevitably produced male-female interactions that, innocent or not, appeared inappropriate. Many of Shinkyō's letters addressed concerns of sexual misbehaviour and he set down guidelines for the prevention and punishment of illicit relations, punishments that ranged in severity up to the suggestion of expelling guilty parties from the community.

One letter by Shinkyō to Shi'amidabutsu of Umeda offers insight to Shinkyō's logic behind separating the sexes. First, Shinkyō explained the commitment behind taking the tonsure; one must abandon all family relations and home-life and one must rely completely on the leader (*Chishiki*). Next, he explained that the path to deception and delusion is taken when the monks approach the nuns and when the nuns do not dismiss/reject the monks. In order to reach the Pure Land, nuns should not go near the monks and monks, in turn, should sever ties with nuns. Therefore, "for now and forever,

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48 Ibid., 147.
49 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 143, 194.
50 See for example the section titled, "scenery of Misaka pass." In *Engi-e,* in *Nihon emakimono zenshū,* 29.

separate the nuns from the monks and block any [sexual] interaction."[51] He further stated that creating separate locations for the monks and nuns is in accordance with the path for rebirth in the Pure Land. Shinkyō suggested that, should the dōjō be large enough, the monks and nuns should be separated into different sections.[52]

In another letter, Shinkyō remarked that "for those without the aspiration for the way, no matter what type of iron barrier one sets up, or even if one were to establish residences separated by a great distance, one would not be able to divide their hearts."[53] Despite this challenge, dōjō leaders did their best to spatially separate the sexes: "If unable to have two dōjō, then within the place establish three distinct sections, although they face each other, they will not be within reaching distance to exchange objects"[54] Shinkyō's was concerned not only with conversation, but also with physical proximity. As long as there was a distance that separated them and prevented any private conversation then the men and women would be safe in the eyes of the group and the community.[55]

Aside from the spiritual reasoning, another main concern about sexual conduct between the monks and nuns was pregnancy. In a letter to Ji'amidabutsu of Amagasaki,[56] Shinkyō described, and restricted, sexuality to conception and to how the procreative act related to the twelve conditions (*jūni innen*)[57] that are responsible for human suffering.

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[51] Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 143.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., 194.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Shinkyō does not concern himself with same-sex interactions.
[56] Ibid.,137.
[57] The Buddha found the cause to the rise of human suffering to be a continuum of twelve phases of conditioning in a regular order. The classical formula for the twelve limbs of conditioned existence are: (1) ignorance, as inherited affliction; (2) karma, good and evil, of past lives; (3) conception as a form of perception; (4) body and mind evolving (in the womb); (5) the six organs on the verge of birth; (6) infant with knowledge of sparśa, contact or touch; (7) childhood with knowledge of discrimination (8) Age of puberty with thirst, desire, or love; (9) the urge of sensuous existence; (10) forming the substance,

Shinkyō explains that a child, a sentient being, which is brought into this world could only suffer. As Jonathan Todd Brown has noted, Shinkyō likely used this interpretation of the twelve conditions as a way to bring attention to his disciples that the sexual act between a man and a woman was the gateway by which a human child reenters the world.[58] To Shinkyō the two conditions that set the cycle of transmigration are the contact of "one's mother's blood and one's father's semen." Preventing female blood from mixing with male semen would put an end to reincarnation as this contact, and the intermingling of these two physical substances, were the cause of conception. Hence, to avoid implicating themselves in the transmigration of other beings, jishū should avoid sexual temptation.

A century latter, the fourteenth leader, Taikū (1375-1439) recorded the following: "[Jishū] who break the precepts by conceiving a child, will, even if they return to the proper Way, often be taken over by feelings of attachment towards their own child... There have been cases where that child is made a jishū, this is strictly forbidden." Taikū, however, seemed sympathetic towards the sexual indiscretions, for he further commented; "because we are within the latter ages, the feelings of affectionate attachment between men and women have become even more pronounced. Because of this, there are many who lack the aspiration for the Way, while this may be forgiven when

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bhava, of future karma; (11) the completed karma ready for rebirth; (12) old age and death. See Inagaki Hisao. *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1985), 154.

[58] Brown. "Warrior Patronage," 496. Brown has introduced an interesting point regarding the regulation of sexuality in Shinkyō's letters, that through all the mention of the danger of sex between monks and nuns, there is no mention or concern regarding same-sex liaisons. He concludes, that "intercourse between men and women was the most severe violation of the precepts, same-sex encounters between males were considerably less objectionable and affairs involving only women were still less serious." Brown, "Warrior Patronage," 501.

they return to face the proper Way, bringing [their] child as jishū is unacceptable."[59] If a child by jishū parents entered the dōjō, the parents, child, and leader of their dormitory had to be expelled immediately.[60]

Taikū gave reasons for refusing a child of jishū parents in the letter. He stated that allowing a child into the group would cause contempt and derision from the lay community who supported the jishū. This, in turn, would lead to the downfall of the group.[61] It is interesting that Taikū did not make any specifications about the gender of the child or parent. The term, *oya*, parent, is used consistently, suggesting it was both parents who were to be expelled. Should they bring their child back to the dōjō, the man was as responsible as the woman who had to give birth.

The conception and birth of a child by jishū members can be verified in a travel journey by a Korean emissary who visited Japan around the time that Taikū had recorded this order. Song Hŭigyŏng (Japanese, Sō Kikei), a Chosōn emissary who traveled through Japan in 1420, recorded his visit to a jishū dōjō, Zen'nenji in Yamaguchi prefecture.[62] He wrote, "In one of the temples, the monks reside to the east and the nuns to the west. Within the Buddha hall, the nuns sit to the west, the monks to the east and they continuously chant the nembutsu. At night, they place a sutra box[63] to separate

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[59] Taikū, "Tō tera matsudai jūshoku kokoroerubeku jō " in *Jishū chūsei monjo shiyoshū,* ed. Takano Osamu (Tokyo: Shirogin gyosho, 1991), 42.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Sunagawa Hiroshi, *Chūsei yugyō hijiri no zuzogaku* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 1999), 473. Song Hŭigyŏng (1376-1446) reports that "temples that are *zenbutsu* or *amidabutsu* temples are all congregated by monks and nuns who reside within the Buddha house." Sō Kikei, *Rōshōdō nihon kōroku.* ed. Murai Shōsuke (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1987), 160.
[63] *Kyōbaku* or *kyōkan*, a box where sutras are stored. Jishū members also had their own special boxes to carry their personal and religious belongings. It also served as a physical boundary separating the jishū members, especially the men and women, at night. Regarding this box, also see chapter one, note 78.

themselves, and that is how they sleep."[64] Song inquired about such practices from a Korean man who lived near this dōjō:

> At this temple the monks and nuns, well, within the Buddha hall they sleep together. They are young, that is, do the monks and nuns not engage in sexual activity?" To this, Rai, laughing, replied "A nun, if she becomes pregnant is no longer able to stay and will return to her parents' home. After delivering, she returns to the temple and lies in front of the altar. After three days, the group of nuns come and she pleads to be brought back to the original position."[65]

Song's suspicions were confirmed; there were sexual relations among the group. A nun, after she delivered a child at her natal home, would return and continue her religious duties. From this account and Taikū's order one can speculate that the jishū child was usually left behind at the home of the parents of the female jishū.

Bōhishō **by Kai'amidabutsu**

Kai'amidabutsu, around 1341, listed forty-nine actions prohibited for jishū in a document titled *Bōhishō* (Notes on preventing misconducts).[66] This list reflected the concerns held by the religious community once the dōjō were established.[67] According to *Jishū jiten* (Jishū dictionary):"This is a document warning against the unlawful

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[64] Entry number 168, titled: Hindered by the wind, we stop and revisit Zen'nenji. Sō Kikei, *Rōshōdō Nihon kōroku*, 160.

[65] Sō Kikei, *Rōshōdō Nihon kōroku*, 160.

[66] Kai'amidabutsu, *Bōhishō*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 2 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho,979), 719-731. See Appendix for more translations from *Bōhishō*.

[67] Surviving copy is from 1775. The records were preserved within the Shichijō dōjō, Kyoto, the Yugyō school headquarters in Kyoto. An introduction to this *Bōhishō* was made in 1775 at the Hyōgodai dōjō (Shinkōji), the resting place of Ippen, in present day Hyogo prefecture.

behaviours between the jishū monks and nuns…Taking examples from sutras it forbids any and all contact between women, including physical touching of hands or exchange of material goods."[68] The dictionary description is misleading as numerous other issues and prohibited actions not relating to sex are also noted.

The first ten prohibitions involved killing, stealing, sexual temptations (towards women), lying, drinking alcohol (exception granted for medicinal purposes), eating meat (punishable by 5000 *rai*), eating spices (permitted to be used as an applicant for medicinal purposes, otherwise punishable by 5000 rai), assisting another to have sexual relations with a woman, stabbing, and assisting in murder (punishable by 5000 rai). Other things listed covered matters such as when to do laundry, how to deal with the sick, prohibition of wearing other people's shoes (punishable by 48 rai), prohibition of possessing tea or other luxury goods (punishable by 300 rai) as well as the opposition to jishū members acting as physicians or shamans.

The exact meaning of the punishment is not clear. One could speculate that the *rai* character (which means, to make obeisance to; to pay respect; ceremony; rite)[69] likely implied the jishū had to make the designated number of ceremonious bows of forgiveness towards the Amida Buddha statue or the leader of the dōjō.

Of particular relevance in the *Bōhishō* are the following prohibitions and punishments. One entry states that, except during ritual practices, monks were prohibited from holding a woman's hand, to exchange items with them, or to sit with them.

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68 *Jishū jiten*, 310.

69 In the ceremonies and rites derived from Buddhist scriptures the reading of this Chinese character is *rai*. In the ceremonies and rites relating to Daoism, it is read *rei*. Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo daijiten, sukusatsu ban*, 12th ed. (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2000), 1437.

Punishment of 100 rai was accorded for such actions.[70] Another similar entry forbade any close proximity between male and female: "Regarding preventing closeness from all females. Associated monks and nuns should not cross over to each other's section/boundaries. However, should this rule be ignored and the boundaries be crossed, [the punishment is] 100 rai."[71] Monks and nuns were also not to seek each other out when the reason was not related to the Teaching since "many evil and bad things happen when monks and nuns allow each other access [to their space]." Such violations were punishable by 200 rai.[72] The number of entries covering the prevention of interaction between men and women, monks and nuns, demonstrate the concern that existed on this topic. The punishment for such behaviours, however, was a relatively minor number of 100 to 200 rai, much less than breaking the rules of not eating meat or spices. The possession of tea or other luxury goods was punishable by 300 rai, for example, and moving to another location was punishable by 5000 rai.[73]

Keeping the boundary and space between the monks and nuns was seen as a key to preventing any undesirable attachments. Another entry reads "Even if it is for the benefit of the patron as well, the facing together of monks and nuns without a chaperone must be stopped, (patron punishable by 100 rai, officers by 500 rai, and ordinary jishū by 1000 rai)."[74] This is the only entry where punishment is recorded for non-jishū members.

In the document there are also lists that, though not specific in forbidding interactions between men and women, suggest this was possibly a rationale for the avoidance of other actions. For example, Kai'amidabutsu rationalized refraining from

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[70] Kai'amidabutsu, *Bōhishō,* 722.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 723.
[74] Ibid. Patron, *tōnin*. Officers, *yakunin*.

taking care of other people's belongings because "when responsible for someone else's belonging, it is a weight upon you. Should you lose the object, you accrue the ill will and the whole group will be suspected of having stolen the object…also, both monks and nuns interact and become close, which inevitably builds up desire towards lust. Thus we have this prevention."[75]

One significant entry is one of the final lists found in *Bōhishō*, it is titled "Regarding the stopping of long journeys or going on pilgrimages without the accompaniment of one's local leader (bōju)" This entry explains that: "Those who venture on a journey [and pilgrimage] ... Through these dangerous experiences, the monks and nuns develop a bond that leads to the crime of sex. To prevent this evil from occurring, the [dōjō] leader must accompany the jishū to enforce the restrictions and to prevent any misconduct." After this entry in smaller letters the author continues; "however, nun leaders [*ama bōzu*] are excluded from this, because they are weak in enforcing punishments."[76] It is noteworthy that these jishū, both male and female, traveled on journeys and made pilgrim visits outside of the itinerant mission. The mention that dōjō leaders must accompany them suggests that small groups or individuals would travel together. Most interesting, perhaps, is the author's discouragement of female dōjō leaders to take on this role, as he felt they lacked the strength for enforcing the rules.

Tōzai sayō shō and *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku* by Takuga

Another document that offers insight into the lives of jishū within the dōjō is

[75] Ibid., 722.
[76] Ibid., 729.

Tōzai sayō shō (Summary of conduct at all times and places) which was written in 1342 by Takuga, the Seventh Yugyō hijiri. It lists 254 regulations the jishū members of the Yugyō branch were to follow and recorded expected attitudes, conduct and behaviour for the daily activities of a jishū.[77] Addressed were issues that concerned the religious welfare of the jishū such as the importance of recognizing the Chishiki (the leader) as the ultimate authority, the need to abandon thoughts of attachment in order to achieve Rebirth in Pure Land, and the necessity to distance oneself from the lay community and that life style.

Some very specific actions were prohibited within the dōjō on this list. For example, during services in the dōjō, practitioners must not raise their arms to stretch; they must cover their mouths when yawning; they must never leave through the front door during services; and nothing was to be placed under the dōjō's *tatami.* Just because one became hot in the dōjō, one was not allowed to leave to cool off.[78] In the hallways one was not to shuffle one's feet, talk in loud voices or laugh. Young jishū were not allowed to wear *tabi,* shoes, and they were not allowed to urinate while standing.[79]

Within this particular code, we are informed that there were separate sleeping

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[77] The impression of these codes suggests that it was addressed to the monks. Imai Masaharu in examining this document states that emphasis was placed on the behavior of jishū during their nembutsu and religious services, and it promoted the importance of the Chishiki. He also establishes that it this document could be divided into four categories; attitude of those in training, such as preparation towards Rebirth in Pure Land, enlightenment, and the ability to abandon; the second category concerns human interaction, especially the importance of Chishiki as the ultimate figure; the third category pertains to religious practices, such as the daily and nightly chanting ritual; the fourth category discuss matters of daily life, such as sleeping arrangements, eating, how one walks and sits, when to talk, or not to talk, as well as how to deal with lay-people. Imai Masaharu, *Jishū kyōgaku nenpō,* vol. 12. (1984): 50-83.

[78] Entries can be found in Takuga, *Tōzai sayō shō,* in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 2 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1970), 736 and 738. There is also an entry that forbids the jishū from leaving the dōjō to warm up elsewhere because they are cold. Found on page 739.

[79] Ibid., 736 and 737.

quarters for monks and nuns. However, jishū on the night chanting shift, which consisted of both monks and nuns, were to sleep in the dōjō after the service.[80] This explains how nuns and monks both slept in their own dormitories and slept together in the dōjō.[81]

Scattered about within the *Tōzai sayō shō* document are ten headings that specifically mention the interaction of monks and nuns. A translation of the lists in the order as they appear follows.

- "Do not look up to see the nuns or women. If by chance you see them, do not think to look at them again."
- "Do not go to the nun's quarters (room) without accompaniment. Even if you have many accompanying you, do not go casually (with ease). While in that room do not continuously laugh and tell stories."[82]
- "While in front of the Chishiki, monks and nuns are not to tell stories or utter words."
- "Do not personally have a nun mend your own clothing and fabric such as *katabira.* [Clothing to be mended] must be submitted together."
- "Do not have a nun or woman, old or young, live within your room for your own personal needs."
- "Even an old monk shall not continuously look at the nuns. Do not go towards the nuns on one's own."
- "Even a young monk shall not continuously go towards the nun's side. [nor to]

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80 Ibid., 734.

81 Thornton has summarized that by the mid-Muromachi period, the standard within the Yugyō school was six dormitories for monks and six for nuns. These dormitories were called "*ryō*" and there was a system of organization within; the head of each ryō was called by his position, *Ichi-ryō*, *ni-ryō* (first dormitory, second dormitory) the highest ranking being the sixth dormitory. See Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, 159.

82 Takuga, *Tōzai sayō shō*, 733.

become an errand boy."

- "Do not walk together with the nuns or with women."
- "A monk is to not take care of the personal needs of a nun by her side."
- "When in front of the Chishiki, do not make eye contact or smile when meeting a jishū friend. Also do not go seeking a friend in the nun's rooms."[83]

Rules, regulations and prohibitions reflect the social dynamics of the time. Listing prohibitions meant that either the prohibited activities took place, or there was the threat that such activities could take place. One could speculate from the lists that monks and nuns did interact with some restrictions. The lists also suggest that there was a wide age group that resided in a dōjō. There were separate residences for the monks and nuns, within which there was some traffic, coming and going, from both sides. Individual rooms for certain members may have also existed. It also appears that some monks and nuns may have had their own personal retainers and servants within their own membership.

Private conversations and interactions between the group's individuals were considered a threat and prohibitions regarding these were not limited to mixed-gender circumstances. Many entries that restricted the interaction among the members are not gender specific: "While in the dōjō do not tell stories or laugh." "Do not make voices to tell a story." "Do not go to this person's room then to that person's room to chat for no particular reason." "During the end of year betsuji service and other betsuji rituals, while within the jishū dōjō do not forsake the nembutsu to gather to talk and laugh." "Regardless of how hungry you are, do not utter the words "oh, [I am] so hungry." This is

[83] Takuga, *Tōzai sayō shō*. Pages, 733, 733, 733, 734, 734, 735, 736, 738, 739.

the same for cold and heat." "During the day service with lots of people, at the back door, do not laugh or make noise/racket, do not force through to be the first one in."[84]

It was not just sexual temptation of the opposite sex that jishū members had to avoid. As a religious member they had to uphold the precepts that governed Buddhist practitioners. For example: "Do not walk with a person who is under the influence of alcohol." "Do not hang around those who drink alcohol, eat meat, and or take the five spices. Do not go near them." They were also to avoid walking or going near fish sellers and sake sellers.[85]

Likely referring to sexual conduct, contact with pretty young boys was cautioned and one was not to approach them.[86] Another entry states, "Do not wholeheartedly love the young; do not hate them either."[87] "If the lodging is a house of ill-repute, do not stay."[88] Likewise, they were also to avoid houses in which no men resided. Jishū members, in addition, were forbidden to go to the market for personal reasons, to attend tea ceremonies, or to attend *renga* poetry parties. Takuga seems to acknowledge that contact with the lay community is inevitable, but it was to be approached with caution. He reminds the members that if should they take on the appearance of a lay person then their hearts will become like one too.[89]

Another document, this one written in 1344 by Takuga, is *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku* (Articles of the rule of deportment). Addressing the monks and nuns of the newly converted Okunotani dōjō in Iyo province, Takuga listed nine articles of protocol that

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84 Ibid., 738, 733,739.
85 Ibid., 738.
86 Ibid., 739.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid., 738.
89 Ibid., 738, 739.

should be followed now that the Okunotani members had become Yugyō school jishū. A look at the titles of the articles give a glimpse into what Takuga felt was important to complete the transference of the jishū into his school. The translation of the titles is: 1) Regarding the true and associate jishū. 2) Regarding jishū of the time. 3) On the twelve belongings. 4) Regarding the end of year ritual. 5) Regarding the nembutsu dance. 6) Regarding the end of day *Hyakuman-ben nembutsu*. 7) Regarding the accolade of nembutsu. 8) Regarding the night ritual for mourning the deceased. 9) Regarding the colour of the robes.[90] Although not stated as an independent entry, the message that the Chishiki, the leader, was both a manifestation of Amida and the ultimate authority, is emphasized throughout the document.

Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku did not specify any spatial division between the monks and nuns. The only distinction noted was in article four, in which the entry of nuns to the dōjō during the seven day, seven night religious practice (*betsuji nembutsu*) is addressed. Apparently, the nuns were to enter the dōjō before the monks. Takuga explained that this was because the original vow of Amida Buddha was to save the most-evil-of-living things (*gokuaku)* and, since the most evil of all living things was women, to be saved, women were to enter the dōjō first.[91]

Yet, on the other hand, it should be remembered that the leader of the Okunotani dōjō at the time of conversion was the nun Chin'ichibō. It is important to note there was no indication made by Takuga that he found a nun leading a dōjō unusual. In contrast, Takuga was full of praise and respect for Chin'ichibō and admired her disciple

[90] It should be pointed out that there is no mention of itinerancy. Hōgonji jishū perhaps did not participate in itinerant practices.
[91] Takuga, *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, 251.

jishū, both male and female, who understood her teachings.[92] Takuga, even though accepting of the standard doctrine that women were fundamentally evil, did not let that blind him to exceptional attainment in a woman.

The Naming Convention

There were a few concrete distinctions made between the female and male members. One distinction was the given Buddhist name. Monks received the –*amidabutsu* designation while the nuns received –*ichibō*, or –*butsubō*.[93] The *Jishū kakochō,* the death registry, was also divided by gender. However, as far as day-to-day practice went, both monks and nuns were expected to perform their duties in accordance to their role as a jishū. This neutral participation began to shift by the late fifteenth century when the role of women participants came to be questioned.

Although females could achieve enlightenment, it was believed that they had to work harder than men for it. The notion of transformation to the male body was popularized by the Devadatta chapter of the *Lotus Sutra.* In this story, the dragon king's daughter achieved rebirth only after she makes a gift of a precious jewel and is transformed into a male form. The concept of *henjō nanshi*, transforming to a male body, was common to many Buddhist sects. Gradually, but strikingly, this concept entered the Yugyō school jishū cannon. Its influence is most striking within the explanations of the female religious names. The change of attitude toward nuns and women can be traced though the differing explanations given for the jishū naming convention.

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92 We will examine this further in chapter six.
93 The Chinese character used for *ichi*, is the single horizontal line of one.

Ippen gave the -amidabutsu designation for the monks and -ichibū, or -butsubū for the nuns. It was, however, not a convention he set in stone. As noted in *Jishū tōyōhen*, (A summary of pertinent aspects of the Ji-sect) a seventeenth century document, "Those of the past did not distinguish between male or female. Nuns took the *A* title, as monks received the *Butsu* title"[94] Evidence of this is found within the death registry, the *Jishū kakochō.*[95]

It was in 1344 that Takuga set into writing the meaning behind jishū religious names when he wrote the first article of the document *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*. For the Yugyō jishū, monks held the *–a* or *-amidabutsu* suffix and the nuns – *ichibō* or *-butsubō*. Takuga explained that the suffix of amidabutsu comes from the concept that people's devotion and Amida Buddha's salvation are one. As for the nuns, "although it is said their means[96] to enter the vow of Amida may be slow or fast, taken that all are 'returned' by *ichibutsu-jō*, [the single Buddha-vehicle][97] their titles are *-ichi, -butsu*."[98]

A few decades later, Chiren (1459-1513), the twenty-first Yugyō hijiri, gave a new reason for the naming convention. "Regarding the question why the nuns' religious title is something -ichibō or something -butsubō? This is to achieve the benefit of *henjō nanshi* within this world and thus achieve rebirth."[99] Furthermore, a document from the Tokugawa period, influenced by Chiren's *Shinshū yohōki*, offered a detailed explanation of the same question:

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94 Genshū, *Jishū tōyōhen* 4, in *Teihon Jishū shūten,* vol. 2 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 1062.
95 See for example *Jishū kakochō,* ed. Ōhashi Shunnō (Fujisawa: Jishū Kyōgaku kenkyūjo, 1964). Page 67 for the monks section and page 169 for the nuns.
96 The term is *ki*. The definition provided in the *Jishū jiten* is; sentient beings; in accordance to the law of the Buddha. *Jishū jiten* , 81.
97 The one Buddha-yāna, or the One Vehicle.
98 Takuga, *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, 251.
99 Chiren. *Shinshū yōhōki*, 995. A translation of the first twelve entries of this document is in the appendix.

> While it is true that they [women] receive the benefit of *henjō nanshi* while awaiting the fruition of buddhahood, it is to distinguish male and female within this world that they are named with -ichibō. Those with Ichi are those of *kyoku*. This is the same. As the saying goes, the Buddha's rank is the same as those who perfect the unyielding and proceed to the highest enlightenment without falling back to a lower spiritual stage. The bō is a common name referring to people such as nuns.[100]

By the sixteenth century, the henjo nanshi concept had become mainstream within the Yugyō school of jishū. While nuns participated, nuns were no longer 'free' of their gender, nor did they possess the 'same value' that Takuga had described in the fourteenth century.

Conclusion

Sometime between the years 1497 and 1513, *Betsuji sahō montō* (Questions and answers relating to manners during the betsuji service) was written. This document has been attributed to Chiren, the twenty-first Yugyō leader.[101] A question was raised in the document about the gender division during the betsuji service:

> What is the reasoning for the nuns to be placed [in a position] as assistant [to the leader] and to work closely with the [leader] during the seven day betsuji service?" The question continued; "even ordained [women] are still deep in the grime of evil passions. Even lay people are to keep their distance [from ordained

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100 Rekiō, *Jishū senyō ki*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 2 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 1288.
101 Chiren, *Betsuji sahō montō*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 2 (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 749.

> women] during special trainings. Then, why is it that they are placed close to the Chishiki (leader)?[102]

The reply was: "Now, there is a method of teaching regarding the saying of how the Chishiki's physical body is the Buddha's body. The origin is, Shakamuni Buddha on the path of becoming [Shakumuni Buddha] was, after six years of rigid training, physically tired and left without strength." The tired Shakumuni was helped by two girls from the Baramon. They had healed him from the exhaustion by providing him with a bath and medicine:

> Thus, the exhaustion of the physical body was revitalized by the medicinal bath. The ones to take care of the male body are exclusively woman. This is a naturally born virtue [of the woman]. This is why the nuns are now acting as assistant. It is based on this example. To sit constantly for seven days and seven nights, the exhaustion is remarkable. If there is idleness [during the service] then the rebirth of the monks and nuns will not be possible. In this sutra, from the time beyond there have always been a need for women who do not take the path of wife. Especially our nuns who now uphold the precepts. This is an explanation of why they serve closely [to the Chishiki].[103]

This passage indicates that by the early sixteenth century, female members were merely regarded as potential healers of the exhausted male physical body.

The dōjō space provided knowledge to both women and men jishū. The knowledge transmitted, however, encouraged the silence and alienation of women. The basis of jishū teaching was simply faith in the name Amida Buddha. However, assumptions based on doctrinal Buddhism - that women are by nature sinful and inferior -

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102 Ibid., 754.
103 Ibid.

discouraged equality between the genders. As the Yugyō school began to secure a position as one of the Buddhist schools favoured by the Ashikaga warrior governments, studies of doctrinal tenets and texts became more important to the school. The institutionalization of the group narrowed the opportunities for women. By the sixteenth century, female jishū, once fully participating members of the rituals, were no longer participants but were regarded only as assistants to male members. By the seventeenth century, they were no longer even helpers; female jishū within the Yugyō school only functioned in a religious capacity outside the now exclusively male dōjō.

Chapter 6
Adapting to the Dōjō

Gabrielle Spiegel in her work, *The Past as Text*, states that "there is no way to restore to the modern reader the historical imagination of a medieval audience…it should be possible to read medieval chronicles in a new way,.. we might study them as vehicles for the expression of fundamental ideas concerning the nature of medieval political reality and its relation to the political past."[1] Indeed, there is no way to comprehend what the women jishū of the medieval period thought. Yet the texts may still offer us an insight to the nature of the "political reality" of the Yugyō school by examining how women jishū were placed within the school, and, correspondingly, how they were placed outside of it.

If space is to be seen as both political and ideological and as an evolving product of human action[2], then, as the Yugyō school shifted its political and ideological purposes to become a mainstream Buddhist order, so would the space and the actions within the dōjō. The Yugyō school chose to transmit texts with the goal of, as Sybil Thornton describes, establishing "a network of temples and patrons, securing government recognition and protection, and maintaining precedence over rivals."[3] In what manner did women appear and how were they represented in these texts?

In one of his letters Shinkyō states "Monks and nuns who take care of the practice hall are those who foster the jishū. The rites and practices of the jishū and the

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1 Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 98.
2 See chapter five.
3 Thornton, *Charisma and Community Formation*, xv.

maintenance of the practice hall are not to be undermined."[4] The participation of both monks and nuns within a practice hall was the "political reality," at least during Shinkyō's time at the founding of the jishū in the early fourteenth century. Nonetheless, from the time of the earliest dōjō, there were reservations raised about the suitability of nuns participating and living alongside monks. Shinkyō advises one of his dōjō leaders to "consider the accompanying nuns as nemesis who will bring you down."[5] Female members faced from the start challenges created by the belief that the female sex was a distraction from a monk's religious' practices.

Evidence of active participation by the female members is found both in writings by the leaders and in the death register. The death register, *Jishū kakochō*, documents the continued membership and leadership roles of women and men up to the sixteenth century. However, contrarily, an early eighteenth century text suggests instead that women were never active participants of the Yugyō school. In fact, the forty-eighth Yugyō hijiri Fukoku (1656-1711) stated that all the jishū groups outside of the Yugyō order were corrupt jishū because the monks and nuns lived together.[6] The Yugyō school, on the other hand, was 'properly' institutionalized and validated by the government which took as a prerequisite that there would be no mixing of the sexes.

Later history's biases add to the confusion of determining the role of women and knowing what really took place in the early medieval days by presenting us a distorted lens through which to view the earlier periods.[7] It may be possible to avoid these biases

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[4] Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 131. Letter title: "E'chukoku Yoshie dōjō."
[5] Ibid., 126. Letter title: "Dōshōnin e tsukawasaru onhenji."
[6] Fukoku, *Jishū Yōryakufu*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten,* vol. 2, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979),1217-1231. Written in 1697. Fukoku is also known as Donyō.
[7] Many Jishū scholars today assume should a leader of a dōjō be a women, then it was a nunnery. Even Chin'ichibō's leadership of the mixed gendered dōjō at Okunotani, as

by focusing on direct translations of the correspondence between the leaders and women members and information that documents female dōjō leadership and participation. Although there are no records remaining which are written directly by women (or, for that matter, by any regular jishū, male or female), there is enough information available to provide sufficient data to form a rudimentary idea of what the life as a nun in a Yugyō school dōjō in the fourteenth and fifteenth century was like.

Kakochō: **Death Registries**

One useful document is the *Jishū kakochō*. The death registers were an important component of the Yugyō school and we can examine these to gain insights into the changing dynamics of the school over time. Kanai Kiyomitsu has used the kakochō as a tool to reconstruct the path of the Yugyō hijiri.[8] Others have used kakochō as a tool to understand the demographics of the times.[9]

In addition to the primary kakochō that was maintained by the Yugyō hijiri, local dōjō also had their own death registers. Of those that we know today are: *Tōtakusan kakochō, Ichirenji kakochō, Rengeji kakochō, Kontaiji kakochō*, and *Shōrinji kakochō*. Ishida Yoshihito suggests dōjō patrons, especially powerful lords, likely had their own temple registries for their own family and clan members.[10] Local dōjō, sponsored by the

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examined in the introduction and will again later in this chapter, is thought to be a nunnery. See for example, Umetani Shigeki, "*Ippen hijiri e* honbun no kentō," in *Ippen hijiri-e no sōgōteki kenkyū,* ed. Sunagawa Hiroshi (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2002), 219.
8 See Kanai, *Jishū kyōdan no chihō tenkai.*
9 See for example William Wayne Ferris, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).
10 Ishida Yoshihito, *Ippen to jishū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1996), 154. He argues that while the 'official' jishū of the dōjō would be recorded in the *Jishū kakochō*, the clan members were recorded separately in their own temple *kakochō*.

community surrounding it, also seem to have kept kakochō. *Kontaiji kakochō* and *Shōrinji kakochō* are two examples of death registries maintained by dōjō that were not clan-based. We will briefly examine these two dōjō registries before moving onto the *Jishū kakochō*.

Kontaiji kakochō survives from Kontaiji or Taruma dōjō, a Yugyō jishū dōjō in the costal town of Ashiya in current Fukuoka prefecture.[11] The records that survive cover the period 1462-1588. While it was not a clan based dōjō, one of the local lords, the Asō family appears to have been one of the major patrons. The kakochō includes names of both male and female members within the same page. In addition, we find various specialists listed, particularly, *imoji*, specialists in casting metal. This concentration is not too surprising due to Ashiya's several foundries. We can also find titles such as *kaneya* (specialist in metal) and *kamaya* (specialist in iron pots) listed for both men and women.[12]

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[11] In Ashiya-city, Fukuoka. It is believed one of Takuga's disciples converted this temple to a Yugyō school jishū dōjō. See *Jishū jiten*, 128.

[12] For more on Taruma dōjō see, Kawazoe Shōji, *Kyushu chūsei shi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983).

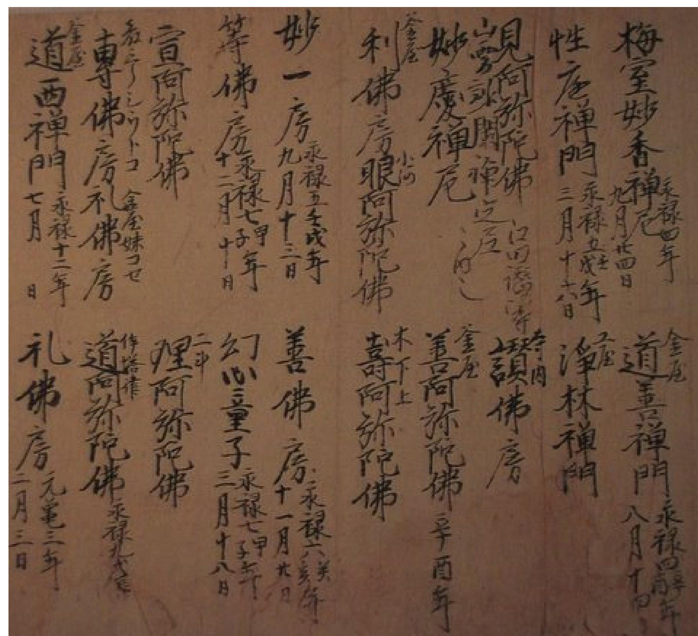


Fig. 14 *Kontaiji kakochō.* Source: *Jishū no bijutsu to bungei,* 171.

Shōrinji kakochō belongs to Shōrinji or Kodera dōjō in current Mihara city in Osaka, not too far from Sakai. This dōjō was also located in a prosperous merchant town. Connected to this dōjō was a *fuseya*, an establishment to help those in need. A fuseya could be an orphanage, an old-age facility, or offer lodging for travelers. The dōjō also had a tea ceremony room which suggests that this dōjō was of considerable size. Furthermore, it is known that the fifteenth Yugyō hijiri conducted their year-end service here in 1422.[13] The kakochō lists two hundred and forty eight members on a single sheet. The religious names of men and women, and even non-jishū designations, are recorded along with occasional details such as occupation or date of death. Only a few names included their profession. For example, two typical male designations of -amidabutsu included the profession of *ishiya* (stone dealer), one female designation was listed as

[13] For more on Shorinji see Kanai Kiyomitsu, "Jishū jiin sanmō ki," *Jishū bunka,* vol 2 (October 2000): 127-131, and, Kanai Kiyomitsu, Sunagawa Hiroshi, Nakajima Yōko, "Shōrinji gyakushū ichiketsushū kagen myōchō ni tsuite*," Jishū bunka* vol. 3 (April 2001): 63-76.

being from the *fuseya*, and another recorded as a *kamiyui* (hair stylist). Another female professional, whose name was Onahe not a jishū name, was listed as a *miko* (shaman).[14]

Jishū kakochō was the original death register of the Yugyō school. This kakochō is divided into monk and nun sections. The initial records stated the dates and names of the jishū who had achieved rebirth. Gradually more detailed information was added to some names. The details selected for inclusion were information such as the location of death, the dōjō name, or the role the member had within the jishū. At first only jishū members were entered and a distinction was made between those who had kept their vows and those who had not. For example, between 1281 and 1388, eight men and sixteen women had their status of rebirth rescinded by having the word *fu,* not, over their name. (This *fu* does not appear after 1388.)

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[14] Kanai, Sunagawa, Nakajima, "*Shōrinji,*" 75.

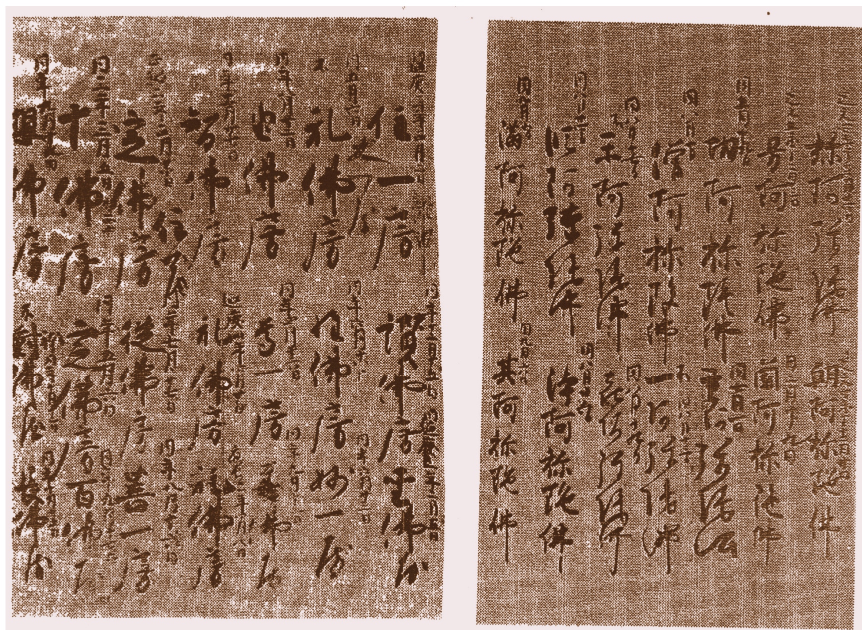


Fig. 15 *Jishū kakochō.* Note the *fu* characters above two monk names, and two nuns names. Source: *Jūyō bunka zai, Jishū kakochō*. Monks from page 39. Nuns from page 97.

Lay members, *kechienshū*, were gradually introduced to the kakochō. Names of individuals who were still alive began also to be recorded. Entries with the names of historical and political figures, such as Taira Kiyomori (1118-1181), the members of the Ashikaga family, and as well the parents of the Yugyō hijiri, were documented.

Based on Ōhashi Shunnō's counting, the number of entries between the monks and nuns are almost equal through the first six leaders.[15] Interestingly, except for the sixth leader, female entries are higher at this early stage in the groups' development. The first jump in number of records is also the first major difference in numbers. Takuga, the seventh leader, recorded one hundred and sixty names in the nun section and one hundred and twelve in the monk's. After Takuga, the only leader to list more nuns than monks is

[15] The following numbers are based on Ōhashi Shunnō, ed. *Jishū kakochō,* (Fujisawa: Kyōgaku kenkyūjo, 1964), 6. In the introduction to the photocopy edition of the *Jishū kakochō* has a similar but different number count. *Jishū kakochō* (Fujisawa; Shojokoji, 1969), 16 -17.

Taikū (1375-1439), the fourteenth Yugyō hijiri, who listed three hundred and eight under nuns and two hundred and forty four under monks. Son'ne (1364-1429), the fifteenth Yugyō hijiri, had the highest number of entries in the *Jishū kakochō* during his term. He listed three thousand, two hundred and ninety five for monks and two thousand, five hundred and thirty four for nuns.[16]

While the actual numbers cannot lead to firm conclusions, the metadata that provides the locations and roles are helpful in identifying the community that surrounded the yugyō group. Identifications attached to members in the *Kakochō,* such as *yugyō* (itinerant group), *bōzu* (dōjō leader), *shoku dokoro* (food place), *sōsahi-sho* (mending place), suggest the specialization that occurred within the itinerant group itself. Also, professionals such as *nenju-ya* (rosary shop), *ishidaiku* (stone constructor), *giba* (healers using Chinese medicine) and, interestingly, *kaizoku* (pirates) all inform us of the community that supported the Yugyō hijiri and his mission. We also encounter the religious roles of *miko* (shaman) and *bikuni* (nun) which reflects an open community that accepted other teachings and practices.[17]

The inclusion of this extra information into the death records was gradual. The seventh Yugyō hijiri, Takuga, entered the roles of the individuals frequently, for example, but it is not until the fourteenth leader that a consistency can be seen in the monk section. By the fifteenth and sixteenth leader it appears a standard had been established to record the roles whenever one could. While the nineteenth leader was an exception who only

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16 Ōhashi, *Jishū kakochō,* 6. A sample of the *Jishū kakochō* entries are in the appendix. Of note is the occasional use of -amidabutsu for nuns, as seen in the example from the appendix, as well as -ichibō for monks.

17 See Ōhashi, *Jishū kakochō,* 8. These entries can be found throughout, for example, several bikuni appear on page 198. For a *giba* nun see 215 and 217. For a monk *giba*, 104. For *kaizoku*, see page 109. See page 105 for *sarugaku* members. There were also *saka-ya* or sake brewery found in page 87. And those who sold medicine, *kusuri-ya,* see page 99.

chose to record names, almost all entries include a description of the individual by the twenty-fifth leader.

The increased inclusion of information corresponds to the period of time when the Yugyō hijiri and jishū received protection and privilege from the Ashikaga shogun. It was also a time when the itinerant route was carefully planned and they could travel without much concern about finding food or shelter. *Jishū kakochō* continued to record the names of jishū nuns and female kechienshū even after women or jishū nuns had become invisible within the order's main documents.[18]

Shinkyō's Letters to Jishū Nuns

The situation of nuns during Shinkyō's leadership reveals that at that time women jishū were expected to be active participants, teachers, and leaders of their community, as well as being a convenient labour source for their patrons. Life within a jishū dōjō was an active one. It was filled with people, chanting, ritual dancing, and any specific duties required by the patron. Jishū members, both male and female, who took an oath to Shinkyō were expected to maintain the strict codes he had established. Those who had not taken the formal vow were still considered jishū but were not expected to follow the same strict rules.

Shinkyō's establishment of the structured dōjō life in the early fourteenth century required most jishū members to adjust to a new way of life. The original mendicant movement, which had abandoned material security, home, and family to follow a

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18 To date, there have been minimal examples of nuns activities after the fifteenth century in the Yugyō school documents. The *Jishū kakochō* lists up to the sixteenth century.

charismatic leader (first Ippen, and then Shinkyō), was now building permanent residences. The desire to remain close to the leader, whom they likely believed to be a manifestation of a divine being, had encouraged the fellowship to share in the mission that involved itinerancy. Many jishū who traveled with Ippen had committed suicide after Ippen's death. This complete dependency and closeness to the leader had to change for jishū who were sent to the new provincial dōjō.

Most jishū who were chosen to be sent to a dōjō to support and spread the teaching of Shinkyō (Ippen) appear to have found it difficult to adjust to their new way of life. In addition, as Jonathan Todd Brown has noted, the jishū who were sent to provincial dōjō were not only obligated to fulfill the religious needs of the patron, but likely had to perform duties such as field hands and household services as well.[19] Shinkyō began establishing a trusted network among the patron-class by both offering salvation through his jishū and allowing the patron to take charge of the jishū.

In *Ta'a shōnin hōgo* (works by Ta'a[midabutsu], Shinkyō) hymns, poems and letters by Shinkyō, addressed to various jishū and warrior patrons have been preserved. Of these letters, twenty-nine specifically address or refer to women and twelve are actually addressed to the nuns themselves. Spiegel's concept to "seek to locate texts within specific social sites that themselves disclose the political, economic and social pressures that condition a culture's discourse at any given moment" can be applied to these texts.[20]

What story do these letters written to the female members tell of the Yugyō school's culture during Shinkyō's leadership? Based on the politeness of language he uses

[19] Brown, "Warrior Patronage," 486.
[20] Spiegel, *Past as Text*, 27.

when compared to other letters, many of the individual women he corresponded with seem to be women of power and patrons of a jishū dōjō. These letters deal with diverse matters covering faith, practicalities of running a dōjō, expectations, and rules to follow. There are also letters addressed to female jishū that were under his direct rule; not patrons, but those jishū he had directly sent to provincial dōjō to lead the local community. Many of these correspondences include Shinkyō's assertion that he is head of the order and a divine being.

A few interesting accounts of the jishū adjusting to provincial dōjō life can be found within these letters. For example, one of the nuns, Son'ichibō, was sent to Aki province, present western Hiroshima prefecture, to guide the patron and community of that dōjō to the path of Pure Land. A letter addressed to her from Shinkyō survives, titled *A reply to Son'ichibō letter [I] received after [she] descended for Aki province.*[21] Her letter to Shinkyō does not survive, but through his reply one can deduce that Son'ichibō had expressed her insecurities at being so far away from him. Not only did she request permission to return to him, she also expressed her desire to die by his side. In his reply he comforts her, but he remains firm and clear about her duties as a jishū: to maintain her faith, to remain in her designated dōjō, and to continue to perform her assigned duties. "Once you took the oath of obedience, and gave [your] name to the Buddha, then [your] faith will not fail no matter how far [one is from the Chishiki], even to the edge of China and India, when the practitioner's faith is put into the nembutsu, then that will bring you to Pure Land." Furthermore, "although the place is far away, if you think we are performing in front of you, then, even after your death, you will not be separated in

[21] Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 130. Letter title: Son'ichibō Akikoku e gekō no nochi fumi wo uketamawari keru ni tsukawasaru onhenji." According to *Yugyō Shōnin eden,* Shinkyō did not travel to Hiroshima during his itinerant mission.

wisdom and blessing of the Chishiki [me]."[22]

Similarly, a letter written in reply to Shu'ichibō continues this theme of the difficulty of separation. Shinkyō tells her "no matter where you are, it is all for, and only for, the purpose of the all important rebirth. Whether one was side by side or separated by distance, if there is the faith towards rebirth, then, without a doubt, the heart will always remain connected."[23]

Another example of a nun sent to lead a provincial dōjō was Bo'ichibō. Her letter to Shinkyō does not survive either. In the reply to her, one can conclude that she had not only sought consultation over questions of faith, practice and duties, but also expressed some distress over the physical separation from Shinkyō. Titled, *A reply to Bo'ichibō of Shimojō*, the letter begins: "Although the [physical] space is far apart, have inner faith to be true regardless of one's surroundings. Trust in the unseen [power] of the Buddha as well as the protection he bestows on his followers. And [remember] it is for the benefit of the people."[24]

Those who were sent to lead dōjō were faced not only with separation from the itinerant group and Shinkyō, but they had also to deal with solitude and a life in a new territory. They were responsible for spreading the message, upholding the code as jishū, and converting new members as well as supporting the patrons who requested the dōjō. This task was assigned to Shinkyō's most trusted jishū, male and female.

There is another letter sent to Shimojō, likely the same dōjō that Bo'ichibō led,

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Shinkyō, *Ta'a shōnin hōgo*, 140.
[24] Ibid., 131. Kanai Kiyomitsu suggests that Shimojō is read as Gejō, and links it to Tōkamachi city in current Niigata prefecture. There was a dōjō Nembutsuji, with a leader title of Shaku'amidabutsu. Another location he suggests is in the Southern Nagano prefecture, where there is still a village named Shimojō. Kanai, *Jishū kyōdan no chihō tenkai*, 242.

which was addressed to Ren'amidabutsu.[25] It can be speculated that both Bo'ichibō and Ren'amidatubu had been sent to the same patron to organize a jishū dōjō. Through his letters to them, we observe that Shinkyō knew that the faith of the patron was often beyond the power of the dōjō leaders. To Bo'ichibō he offers; "If even now, no thought is taken about themselves and actions they take are against the way, then, no matter how you teach, what purpose is there? Except, to give, is the base of our teaching. Even if the person were to achieve rebirth or to fall into hell, you yourself should keep [the teaching] in mind." To Ren'amidabutsu, Shinkyō also states; "because that is the persona of the patron's faith, it is not that [his] inner heart is undesirable. I explain this for the sake of the monks and nuns understanding of the protection, strength and power of the Buddha way."[26]

In another letter, to a Gen'ichibō in Utsunomiya, Shinkyō reprimanded her for having asked him to visit her patron. He wrote to her saying "being separated from us, and needing to deal with [issues] by yourself can, like this, be exasperating. However, you must refrain from these complaints."[27]

Provincial dōjō leaders were responsible to Shinkyō (and subsequent leaders) first, then the dōjō patron, and finally the jishū members within the dōjō. While Shinkyō stresses the importance of obedience to him and the patron, some letters inform the leaders of provincial dōjō not to hold themselves accountable when a jishū under their authority goes astray. Within the letter to Ren'amidabutsu, he mentions: "From the time of the late hijiri [Ippen] the monk and nun disciples have not particularly excelled in awaking aspiration or in wisdom compared to others." Furthermore, "among the

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[25] This letter can be found in Shinkyō, *Ta'a shōnin hōgo*, 195.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Shinkyō, *Ta'a shōnin hōgo*, 142.

provincial dōjō, there are few who seek emancipation and many who do not seek enlightenment." Shinkyō explains that those who had become jishū of their group did so out of their own free-will knowing fully the risks that membership entailed. Therefore, the leader of the dōjō did not have to take responsibility for actions done by their own jishū.[28]

An important letter, entitled *Reply to Katsumata's Kaibutsubō*, provides a view of life within a warrior-sponsored dōjō.[29] Ōhashi Shunnō suggests that this Katsumata is linked to Shinkyō's poet friend Fujiwara (Katsumata) Nagakiyo who was from a powerful warrior family[30] of the Katsumata region in Tōtōmi province, today's Shizuoka prefecture.[31] Shinkyō's friend was also known as Shōamidabutsu and is believed to have commissioned the Jishū temple Katsumata Shōjōji. While the identity of Kaibutsubō remains unknown we can infer from the respectful language Shinkyō's used in writing to her that she was someone of importance. Neither Shōamidabutsu nor Kaibutsubō (nor Ji'amidabutsu, believed to be Shōamidabutsu's son) are recorded in the *Jishū kakochō*. However, as Ishida Yoshihito states, the Katsumata clan had their own Kakochō and likely recorded their family and clan members in that.[32]

It is hard to know why Kaibutsubō had initially written to Shinkyō. Unlike some of his disciples, she had not sought to be in his presence nor had she asked practical questions about how to run a dōjō. It is likely that she wrote to inform him of the death of

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[28] For another example, see Shinkyō's reply and answer to Sō'amidabutsu, in *Ta'a shōnin hōgo*, 139.
[29] This letter can be found in Shinkyō, *Ta'a shōnin hōgo*, 158.
[30] For more on Fujiwara see *Jishū jiten,* 296. Also, Ishida, *Ippen to jishū,* 149 -156.
[31] Ōhashi, *Jishū niso Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 106.
[32] In the *Jishū kakochō* the first appearance of the name Kaibutsubō is in 1356, noted as Kaibutsubō from Echigo Sanjō, in current Niigata prefecture, therefore unlikely to be the same person. The next notation of Kaibutsubō is in 1379, unless she lived to an extremely old age, this entry indicates a different Kaibutsubō.

Lord Yamamoto and of her decision to become a nun. Shinkyō chose to begin his reply by first mentioning how he had been ill for a few days in Kai province. Had Kaibutsubō known of this illness? Or was Shinkyō offering reason for a late reply? Regardless, the tone suggests that both Shinkyō and Kaibutsubō were acquaintances and likely had exchanged letters or poems prior to Kaibutsubō becoming a nun. She was likely related to Lord Yamamoto: as wife, daughter, sister, or even perhaps mother. Shinkyō informs Kaibutsubō that it is a joyful thing that she can now focus on the merit of the nembutsu to enter Pure Land and thus forever be a friend beside Lord Yamamoto.

In his letter Shinkyō reminded Kaibutsubō, who he described as having written to him "with soft words in an elegant learned hand,"[33] that now that she was a nun she could no longer maintain her former attitude or behaviour. Her love of refinement and disdain towards those below her were no longer appropriate. She needed to overcome her former thinking, to "overcome the mind of the past, surpass from the past into the now, in mind and behaviour, this itself is then the normal core of mind and behaviour. This way one's mind is clear and at ease within this world and the next and [can] focus on aiming to achieve rebirth."[34]

Shinkyō's admonition that she can no longer disdain those below her implies that the status structure of lay society did not apply to the dōjō. One cannot know if it was something she mentioned in her letter to Shinkyō that made him respond in this way, or if someone else had voiced a complaint about her unchanged attitude. Nevertheless, one senses that a jishū nun (and likely monk), regardless of personal social standing before taking the vow, was expected to follow the mendicant jishū order in the same manner as

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33 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 158.
34 Ibid.

any other acolyte. This appears to be contrary to the *monzeki* convents where the exterior social world, along with its hierarchy, extended inside the walls.[35]

Shinkyō also informed Kaibutsubō of what is expected of her now that she was a nun: she must "part from desire of the heart, do not wear nice clothing, do not seek taste in your mouth, cut apart the ties between the living and dead…" And, further, to "convert your former heart/mind and do not neglect the nembutsu, then, the Buddha's mercy will be bestowed [on you], and you will definitely achieve rebirth."[36] He did not talk, however, about how she was to pray for sentient beings nor how she owed strict obedience to him. This suggests that although she had become a nun she had not become Shinkyō's disciple.

Shinkyō also offered Kaibutsubō comfort. He assured her that she and Lord Yamamoto would meet again in the Pure Land and forever be companions. One should note this contradicts the ethos of abandonment that was to include family and all attachments, an attitude often stressed in his other letters. However, Shinkyō, building on Ippen's concepts of bringing together the worship of the kami with the nembutsu, used ancestor worship and attachment to the dead to promote his nembutsu practice. This supported the establishment of jishū dōjō for the purpose of family (clan) based ancestor practice halls.

It is not known who Lord Yamamoto was. It is known, however, that he had several young girls under his protection who, after his death, entered the dōjō. These young nuns had apparently caused some disruption within the dōjō and had distracted the other members. Another figure Shinkyō addressed in this letter was Kyōamidabutsu.

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35 See chapter four.
36 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 158.

Shinkyō, after mentioning he received his messages, assured Kyōamidatsubu that, with time, the girls would eventually learn the way of the dōjō. "The more nembutsu they hear, the more likely they, too, will start to chant themselves." Shinkyō seemed sympathetic with Kyōamidabutsu's situation. Shinkyō realized it meant Kyōamidabutsu was unlikely to have the time for his own practice. "While the situation now is troubling, you will eventually find it to be beneficial and satisfactory."[37]

The connection between the young nuns and Kaibutsubō is unclear. Since the honorific suffix *goze* is used with the young nuns we can assume they were not of the servant class, but rather of a similar status as Kaibutsubō. This letter paints an image of a rather lively medieval dōjō; in the image several young girls are running around the dōjō, a lady is complaining about her lack of comfort, and all the while the male and female jishū perform their nembutsu chanting.[38]

The next letters to be examined suggest the active communications that existed between individual female jishū members. It also reflects Shinkyō's stance that required the jishū to follow the rules he created and how personal exchanges between jishū members that undermined either Shinkyō's position or the Yugyō school as a sect were reprimanded.

The first example is found in the letter entitled, *A disciplinary letter to Kyōamidabutsu regarding the personal gift of tafu sent from Genichibō of Hashimoto to*

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Brown in "Warrior and Patronage" takes this letter as evidence that female dependents of a warrior patron of a Jishū dōjō used the dōjō as a refuge, and did so to retain some authority and wealth. In Kaibutsubō's case, it does appear that the death of Lord Yamamoto led Kaibutsubō to take the tonsure and reside in the dōjō. And although she was expected to lead a life she was not accustomed too, it was not the same as the jishū who had taken the oath from Shinkyō. Brown, "Warrior and Patronage," 364.

Okuichibō and Tōichibō of Taima.[39] It appears Genichibō of Hashimoto[40] had sent *tafu*, clothing material, to Okuichibō and Tōichibō, both of whom resided at Taima dōjō. Shinkyō was quite upset over this exchange.

> I saw that there was a letter on thin paper that described how three *tafu* are being sent to Okuichibō and Tōichibō to whom the tafu is to be divided one and a half each. These jishū [Okuichibō and Tōichibō] have no right to receive private gifts from individuals. Also that jishū [Genichibō] has no right to hold private belongings and to give it to some acquaintance. It is in behavior like this that one eventually breaks the code [of jishū] and becomes like lay people. It is therefore from now and for the future that I write this and send it out. Tafu is, as is known, an object against the law. I will have it burned.[41]

Shinkyō makes it clear in this reprimand that anything not approved by him is against the law of the order. One can imagine that Genichibō, while on an itinerant mission, befriended Okuichibō and Tōichibō. She was then sent to Hashimoto with Kyōamidabutsu to run the local dōjō. Perhaps life at Hashimoto dōjō had proved rewarding and Genichibō had received 'luxury' items from her patron or supporters, items which she then wished to share with her friends.

Another issue, beyond the exchange of luxury goods, was the existence of personal correspondence between Genichibō, Okuichibō and Tōichibō. Shinkyō realized that the letter in hand was not intended for him; "more and more that letter does not appear to be from that person [but was written by Genichibō and] was written for the two of them. Thus for those here, for their benefit, it will be burned."[42] This reveals that

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39 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 144.
40 Ōhashi suggests this to be Kyōnji in Shizuoka prefecture. Ōhashi, *Jishū niso Ta'a Shōnin hōgo,* 69.
41 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 144.
42 Ibid.

Genichibō was able to write and expected to correspond with Okuichibō and Tōichibō. Amino Yoshihiko has remarked that, by the end of the thirteenth century, literacy, in the form of kana, was not restricted to the upper class, but could also be seen among women of the low-ranking warrior class and among the wealthier commoners.[43] Ōdo Yasuhiro, in his study on educational facilities in the medieval period, has suggested that the jishū dōjō worked as an educational base. He claims that jishū dōjō were the most open in offering Buddhist studies to the lay society and that their dōjō held a strong 'school' facility aspect.[44] The dōjō was a place where the warriors, the lord, and his retainers could attend sutra reading, seminars and discussions on the matters of life and death.[45] Perhaps preliminary reading and writing was also taught to those who sought it. After all, one of the requirements to be a dōjō leader was to be able to read and write since they were responsible for maintaining correspondence with the Chishiki.

Shinkyō's anger over those whom he thought were trying to undermine his authority is seen again in a letter to Dai'ichibō of Nakajō, entitled *Reply to Dai'ichibō of Nakajō*.[46] In this letter we learn that Dai'ichibō used her personal position to order two female jishū, Ryū'ichibō and Hō'butsubō, away from the dōjō to which they had been assigned, directing them instead to her own dōjō. The high-ranking name, Dai'ichibō, suggests that she was the leader of an important dōjō. Shinkyō had likely heard of this exchange through a member of the dōjō where Ryū'ichibō and Hō'butsubō had been assigned. Shinkyō writes to Dai'ichibō:

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43 Amino, *Chūsei no hinin to yūjo,* 187.
44 Ōdo Yasuhiro, *Nihon chūsei kyōiku shi no kenkyū* (Azusa shuppan, 1998), 226.
45 Ibid., 424 and 224. Ōdo is referencing *Utsunomiyake shikijō.*
46 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo,* 135. A translation of this letter is also in the Appendix. Nakajō, is believed to be from Echigo province, Naka uo Numa Gun, Nakajō; current Niigata prefecture, Tōkamachi. Ōhashi, *Jishū niso Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 46. Brown in "Warrior and Patronage" makes reference to this letter in pages 440 -444. He suggests that Ryū'ichibō and Hō'butsubō were Dai'ichibō's daughters or of close relations.

> Myself, as well as *jishū,* have abandoned our parents, discarded our children, forsaken our body, and abandoned our minds. After having given our body and life to the Amida Buddha, one may not have thoughts of ownership towards [other] jishū or belongings. Particularly, to consider one a master of [another] jishū, what notion is this? Once a person of resolve requests [to have a jishū near by] and this is provided to that person, regardless of what happens, it is up to that person to decide matters. Therefore, there is no ground to retrieve [the jishū that was sent over].[47]

What lay behind Dai'ichibō's decision to command the return of the two nuns is unknown. What seems most troubling to Shinkyō, however, was that Dai'ichibō had taken matters into her own hands. He seems unconcerned over whether it was of benefit to the two jishū themselves. The great problem with this action was that it undermined Shinkyō's authority. The patron of the dōjō to which the two jishū had been assigned to had likely contacted Shinkyō to complain about their leave. Jishū had an obligation to follow the patron's wishes, even if the duties he asked were non-religious. Obliging the requests of the patron ensured continued sponsorship of the dōjō, and thus the material support of the order. Shinkyō continues in his letter to Dai'ichibō:

> Ultimately, I emphasize that the two nuns, Ryū'ichibō and Hō'butsubō, be returned to the person who made the fundamental vow. You will also return the lotus *honzon*[48] along with them. Once an agreement has been made it is not to be broken by yourself. Having abandoned this world and discarded the body, there is no ground to becoming an owner for objects of this world. As it is the promise that we become the object of the Buddha, everything is for the purpose of rebirth for this body. There is no reason to be attached to things. It is only

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[47] Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo,* 135.

[48] *Renge honzon*: likely a hanging scroll with a painting of a lotus pedestal with the words of the *nembutsu* above it. Ōhashi, *Jishū niso Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, 47.

incommodious towards the path of rebirth.[49]

Few letters to women jishū, patrons, or even correspondence between the Chishiki and dōjō leaders exist after Shinkyō's time. Some letters written to women patrons by Takuga (1285-1354), the seventh Yugyō hijiri, can be found, however. In these the theme is constant; how rebirth is achieved through chanting.[50]

Takuga's Letters

Two letters addressed to lay members, however, reveal two important statements Takuga made. Written in the early fourteenth century, the first letter was directed to a woman and addressed a question about the benefit of the nembutsu. Takuga writes:

> Women are weighed down by their sins and obstructions. Because of this, they are not pardoned by the mercy of the Buddhas. For now and until eternity, women will receive the suffering of transmigration in the six realms…Indeed women are heavily weighed down sinners. From the dark road to the even darker [road], accumulating suffering upon suffering. There is no peace for [women] while in the six realms of four modes of birth and the twenty-five states of existence.[51]

While he detailed the sinfulness of the female nature, the overall message of his letter was to confirm the wonderful benefits provided by the nembutsu, that "to chant is

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49 Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo,* 135.
50 See Takuga, *Shōnin hōgo,* and *Shichidai shōnin hōgo*, both in *Teihon Jishū shūten.*
51 Takuga, *Takuga Shōnin hōgo*, 360. The letter in question is titled: "Inquiry by leave of a certain lady." *Shishō.* The four modes of birth; being born from womb, from an egg, from moisture, and through metamorphosis. *Nijūgo-u,* the 25 states of existence were unenlightened sentient begins transmigrate. Hisao, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms,* 306 and 229.

to erase sin", that "the Buddha protects those who chant." He suggested that women, despite being sinners, could achieve rebirth through the chanting of the Amida Buddha's name.

The second letter of significance was sent to the military governor of Ise, Nikki Yoshinaga, over matters concerning jishū on the battlefield. In "Letter to Nagano of Ise," as we examined in chapter one, Takuga states: "Our monks and nuns have the same value."[52] Nikki Yoshinaga had earlier made complaints about the jishū of Nagano dōjō helping the defeated warriors after the siege of Nagano castle in Ise province around 1353. Takuga clarified in this letter the role of jishū. He stated that both the monks and nuns were to protect and aid all those in need without taking any sides.

These two statements present a dichotomy of values. On the one hand, Takuga upholds the Buddhist doctrine of women being sinful creatures, yet, on the other hand, he is explicit that jishū nuns had 'the same value' as the monks. They offered the same promise of salvation, the same spiritual and physical help, to those in need.

Women jishū were active as religious practitioners, especially outside the dōjō. However, within the jishū dōjō, the concept of the inherent sinful and evil nature of women was expressed. The code of conduct for the jishū reveals an underlying belief that did not accept nuns as having the 'same value.' For example, Takuga states, "during the *betsuji* [service] the nuns enter the dōjō first. The reasoning of this order is that the original vow of the Amida Buddha is to save the most-evil-of-living things (*gokuaku)* and since the most evil of all living things are women [therefore they are to enter the dōjō first]."[53] Such explanations and practices encouraged the devaluation of women.

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[52] Takuga, *Shichidai shōnin hōgo*, 383.
[53] Takuga, *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, 251. Fourth section.

Although Takuga did not deny women's inherit sinfulness, a prominent thought within most Buddhist schools, he also did not suggest any special need for women to overcome this drawback to salvation either. In the first letter we examined, Takuga is answering a question posed about the attainment of rebirth by women. He tells her that women needed to do the same as everyone else: believe and chant the name Amida Buddha. Takuga explains that within the Name Amida Buddha there were no exceptions. Even the evil would be guided to salvation by the Name. He sympathized with the lady "your concern and suspicion toward this all-encompassing power of Amida Buddha, based on the fact that women are weighted down by their sinfulness ... You question how this can be overcome. That in addition to the thirty-five wish [conversion to the male body] you wish for female rebirth." He continued, "the Nembutsu that I talk about, it is above all law. The one mention of Namu Amida Butsu disbands all evil sins of life and death of eighty *kalpa*, and for this, you receive the benefit of the remarkable eighty kalpa." Further elaborating, Takuga stressed that "those who chant the nembutsu are protected by the Buddha. During one's life, chant from the morning until the eve of one's death. Within the continuous voice, the path to rebirth is entrusted with the Buddha."

Female Leadership

Buddhist doctrinal works have always looked down upon women and this denigration of women can be seen to steadily increase over the centuries in the Yugyō school of jishū's cannon. Even though during Takuga's time, when nuns participated alongside the monks, Takuga's writings still encouraged the dismissal of nuns. For example, Takuga, in one of his final comments in his notes on Shinkyō's *Ta'amidabutsu*

dōgyō yōjin, made the statement "nun, women, lay people are unable to comprehend this deep knowledge."[54]

Evidence, however, that there were female dōjō leaders of mixed gendered congregations in Takuga's time is strong. One of the final remarks made in *Bōshishō* by Kai'amidabutsu in 1341 reads:

> Those who venture on a journey [and pilgrimage] travel through the peaks of the mountains, over the rugged terrain, and brave through the waves of the rivers and oceans. Through these dangerous experiences, the monks and nuns develop a bond that leads to the crime of sex. To prevent this evil from occurring, the [dōjō] leader must accompany the jishū to enforce the restrictions and to prevent any misconduct.[55]

After this passage, in smaller lettering, he continues; "however, nun leaders [*ama bōzu*] are excluded from this, since they are weak in imposing the punishments."[56] While the existence of female leaders is clear, females were, as far as Kai'amidabutsu was concerned, not capable of delivering stern punishments.

It is difficult to gain an accurate sense of the variety of the women leaders. A female Yugyō hijiri certainly never existed and one could argue that any female leadership role had more to do with the woman's status than gender. High-ranking names such as Dai'ichibō and Shō'ichibō are frequently bestowed on the mothers of leaders and patrons in the later years of the *Jishū kakochō*. As well, scant evidence remains to shine

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[54] Takuga, commentary on Shinkyō's *Ta'amidabutsu dōgyō yōjin chu,* in *Sandai sōshi hōgo. Sandai sōshi hōgo,* in *Teihon Jishū shūten,* vol. 1, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai. (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 249.
[55] Titled "Regarding the stopping of long journeys or going on pilgrimages without the accompaniment of one's local leader (*bōzu*)." Kai'amidabutsu, *Bōhishō,* 729.
[56] Kai'amidabutsu, *Bōhishō*, 729.

light on the nature jishū dōjō leaders, be they male or female. The *Jishū kakochō,* on occasion, mentions an individual to be the bōzu. Unfortunately no further information regarding the individual, or the dōjō they resided in, is provided, except, perhaps, for the date of death. Furthermore the *Jishū kakochō* does not include names that would have been recorded down by dōjō that had their own registry of the dead. Family-based dōjō seemed especially likely to have maintained their own registry. There are, however, two clear examples of females that led mixed congregations: Chin'ichibō of Okunotani dōjō and Dai'ichibō of Onomichi dōjō.

The first example of a woman bōzu, or leader of a dōjō, is glimpsed in the story of Dai'ichibō, the fourth leader of Onomichi dōjō. As examined in the previous chapter, Onomichi dōjō is one of the oldest surviving jishū dōjō and can be visited today. Onomichi, a coastal town in Hiroshima prefecture, was once a prosperous port town where its trade equaled that of Sakai and Hakata.[57] The warrior and poet Imagawa Ryōshun (1326-1414), in his *Michiyuki buri* (1371), portrays this busy port town; "houses are lined up so close there is no space for one to dry the nets."[58]

During a 1353 visit by Takuga the husband and wife of the Ikeda family donated funds for the construction of the main hall for this dōjō. A carved plaque with the

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[57] *Hiroshima ken*, *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten,* vol. 34 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1987), 216. What is especially unique of Onomichi is that it still has six operating Jishū dōjō, one being Saigōji, formally Saieji, or Onomichi dōjō. Opened by the sixth Yugyō hijiri I'chin around 1332-34. A sitting statue of I'chin rests in Saigoji, it is considered a provincial treasure. The figure and features of this statue does not resemble the other I'chin statues, resembling rather Takuga, the seventh leader.
[58] Imagawa Ryōshun, *Michiyuki buri,* in *Chūsei nikki kikōshū,* ed. Fukuda Hideichi (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), 398. It is a travel record of his journey from Kyoto to Dazaifu, Kyushū. It appears he stayed in Onomichi for at least a few months. He arrived in Onomichi in the second month and leaves on the fifth. See page 391. He also refers to Mukaijima as *Uta no shima*, page 399.

characters Saie-ji still hang in the main entrance.[59] This main hall was designated as a national treasure in 1961, after which it underwent refurbishment. During this restoration a construction plaque was discovered that revealed the names of the party involved in the building of the main gate to Saieji in 1395. The plaque records that nun Dai'ichibō, leader of the temple, initiated the construction. Also involved were Kyo'a, Ritsu'a, Jyo'a, and the builder, who was Fujiwara Hirosada.[60]

Onomichi dōjō or Saieji was a prosperous and important jishū dōjō within Onomichi. The bōzu carried one of the top religious designations, the Sono'amidabutsu title. Onomichi dōjō history has passed the name of Dai'ichibō down as the fourth leader, as mentioned in *Onomichi-shi* (History of Onomichi), published in 1939. This record notes her involvement in the gate construction. However, the years given for the involvement are during the Jōji years (1362-1368) and the carpenter is recorded as Takeda Banshō.[61] This slight change in information suggests there was another source or oral tradition passed on regarding Dai'ichibō's involvement in the gate construction.[62] *Onomichi-shi* also mentions Dai'ichibō as the wife of the lord of Sagata castle which stood in current Fukuyama prefecture.[63] No evidence has been provided to confirm this information and, although subsequent updated local histories for Onomichi and Hiroshima prefecture have continued to record this information, it is problematic, if only for the simple reason that Sagata castle was not constructed until 1568, almost two

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59 Carved on the back is: Donor, Sir Ikeda and nun Ikeda. seventh day of the New-year month, 1354.

60 Kyo'a, Ritsu'a and Jō'a were likely jishū members of Onomichi dōjō. For a picture and transcription of this see, Saigō-ji hondō oyobi sanmon shūri innkai, ed. *Jūyō bunkazai Saigōji hondō oyobi sanmon shūri kōji hōkokusho* (Kyoto: Beinridō,1965), 3.

61 *Onomichishi shi, jokan* (Kyoto: Onomichishi yakusho, 1939), 764.

62 I have been unable to locate this. There is reportedly a *Saieji ki* (record of Saie temple), but not even the head priest was aware of this document, nor able to located it.

63 *Onomichishi shi, jokan*, 764. Subsequent Onomichi city history have reported the same, see Aoki Shigeru, ed., *Onomichi-shi,* vol 6 (Onomichi: Onomichi yakusho, 1977), 72.

centuries after Dai'ichibō had commissioned the gate.[64] Unfortunately, the construction plaque revealed in 1965 does not supply further evidence about Dai'ichibō.

The *Jishū kakochō* reveals that the Yugyō hijiri visited Onomichi roughly every ten years until the fifteenth century. Entries of names of those who were conclusively from Onomichi dōjō are; 1342 Shaku'amidabutsu, 1363 Mi'amidabutsu, 1372 Shō'ichibō, 1378 Sono'amidabutsu and Sen'amidabutsu, 1381 Sen'amidabutsu, 1387 Sono'amidabutsu and Shō'ichibō, and 1399 Sono'amidabutsu and Sen'amidabutsu. Since the male dōjō leader held the Sono'amidabutsu designation we can suspect that Dai'ichibō became the forth leader in 1387 and passed away sometime after the commission of the gate in 1395 and before 1399.[65] During this time she would have led a mixed congregation: it would seem extraordinary for this mixed gendered dōjō to have switched into a women-only dōjō for Dai'ichibō's tenure.

There is little documentation available about the jishū in Onomichi. Perhaps, as Imagawa Ryōshun suggests, the rugged coastal people of Onomichi lacked the desire to record and keep records. He reports that there are no written materials worthy of study and when, on occasions such works were found, they were damaged by insects and time: "Even during the eras when written materials had to be kept in the walls or in the rock

64 Geographically, the distance between Onomichi and Sagata castle is not so far, making it plausible that some connection could have existed. Sagata castle was maintained by the Miyauji clan, who held power in the southern Bingo region. After 1552, the Arachi clan, a branch of the Miyauji over saw the castle until 1591 when Mōri took direct control. After Sekigahara, Sagata castle itself was deserted.

65 From *Jishū kakochō.* For the monk entries, see pages 27, 35, 41, 44, 49, 57, and 59 respectively. For the nuns, see pages169 and 173. The entries on Sen'amidabutsu read *Onomichi oku*, suggesting another dōjō. Sen'amidabutsu was likely the title for the dōjō leader for this Oku dōjō in Onomichi. While there are entries of Dai'ichibō during this period, none refer to Onomichi. There is one entry on 1398 forth month third day, with the words *Saru kuyō*. See page176.

boxes, I am sure it could not have been worse than this. It is deplorable."[66]

The second example of a nun holding a leadership role over a mixed gender dōjō is revealed by history more clearly. She has the fortune of appearing in a surviving document written by Takuga, the *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku* (Articles of the rule of deportment). These articles, as examined in chapter five, were written for a jishū group in Iyo, current Ehime prefecture, which had converted to the Yugyō school in 1344. Takuga's description of the circumstances of this conversion introduces us to the leader of this dōjō, the nun Chin'ichibō.

The document opens with Takuga's account of meeting with the leader and members of the jishū at Hōgonji, also known as Okunotani dōjō.[67] While Takuga and his jishū were on an itinerant mission in Shikoku in 1344, they were visited by the nun Chin'ichibō. This nun, Takuga stated, was the chosen successor of Sen'a, the founder of the Okunotani jishū dōjō.

At Okunotani dōjō a bond was formed between Takuga and Chin'ichibō and they resolved to maintain a karmic connection. After three days Takuga and his jishū continued on their itinerant mission and headed east towards Yakura, near current Iyo-city. After a few days they returned to the dōjō near Okunotani dōjō where they had initially met Chin'ichibō. On the twenty-first day of the sixth month Chin'ichibō made another visit to Takuga at this location. He reported her words: "I have come on a matter of great importance. I have noticed a change in my body, [especially] on the road here. The reason for my coming is to request that the dōjō be under your guidance after I

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[66] Imagawa, *Michiyuki buri*, 398.

[67] Current Ehime prefecture, Matsuyama city in Dōgo Yutsuki-cho. This location was the setting for Natsume Sōseki's novel *Botchan.*

achieve my real intention [of rebirth]."[68]

Takuga continues: "This agreement was made on the morning of the twenty-first, and while [she] was making her leave with tears in her eyes, [I] gave her an Ami-cloth and told her to wear this [when she] achieves rebirth." She achieved rebirth on the twenty-six at the hour of *tatsu*, between seven and nine in the morning. In accordance with her wish, Takuga sent a Yugyō school jishū to Okunotani dōjō to become the new leader of the dōjō. He stated that "the monks and nuns both valued their former leader's order and will now follow my words to enter the [Yugyō school] jishū with the same vow and same heart, and continue to live at the [dōjō]."[69]

Chin'ichibō name can be found in the *Jishū kakochō* under the nun section. Dated sixth-month, twentieth-day, 1344. Written on the back of the page are the words: '*Okunotani bōzu*', the religious leader of Okunotani.[70] One can speculate a chronology using what facts we do know. If Sen'a had started Okunotani dōjō in 1292, and one assumes that Sen'a was of the same generation as Ippen and Shinkyō and he lived to Shinkyō's age of seventy-two, this would place his death around the year 1319.[71] Chin'ichibō, then, would have been in charge of Okunotani dōjō for at least twenty years.

Although we know nothing else about Chin'ichibō, she is an example of a female teacher of Buddhism. With her history of being the respected leader, and the

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[68] Takuga, *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, 250. The full translation of the introduction to *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku* is in the appendix.
[69] Ibid.
[70] There is a discrepancy here. According to *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku*, 250. Chin'ichibō visited Takuga on the twenty-first not the twentieth. There is another nun's name, Tobutsubō, who is entered on the same year on the twenty-first day of the sixth month, possibly a nun who accompanied Chin'ichibō. No monk's names are recorded for this period. Jishū kyōgakubu, ed. *Jishū kakochō* (Fujisawa: Jishū kyōgakubu, 1969), 100.
[71] Average life expectancy was a lot lower, at around thirty-five. However, based on the Yugyō branch leaders, they appear to have enjoyed a long life, averaging around sixty-five. Also, for example, Takuga would have been sixty-five when he visited Hogōnji.

chosen successor to this dōjō, it is not difficult to imagine her a charismatic, active, and educated individual. Of note, Takuga drew no attention to the fact that this dōjō was led by a woman.

Conclusion

It is difficult to create a composite narrative of a jishū life. In general, their purpose of practice was to offer the path of salvation to as many as possible, especially for the community they resided in and for the patrons of their dōjō. Jishū nuns both on the road and within the dōjō lived an active life alongside their male colleagues, not as wife or daughter, but as fellow practitioners and even as leaders.

Only a handful of stories of female members have been uncovered. From this limited collection we receive an image of women who lived a full-faceted life. Their life changed when the itinerants were, by orders of Shinkyō, sent to live in a dōjō to spiritually guide and support their patron. The anxiety the woman had felt over their separation from the group, the change in environment, and their new lifestyle comes across in the letters written to them by Shinkyō. What we can conclude from these writings is that these women in the dōjō ranged from charismatic leaders to delinquent members, from insecure leaders to assertive leaders, and from those who obeyed to those who challenged.

Conclusion

During the early period of the Yugyō school its connection to itinerancy was strong and men and women practiced, lived and traveled together. The women were not involved as wives, daughters or mothers. They were religious practitioners who had made a vow of absolute obedience to their Chishiki and a full commitment to creating a world encompassed by the grace of Amida Buddha through invoking the nembutsu, *namu-ami-da-butsu*.

By the mid-fourteenth century most jishū resided in dōjō. Only a few were devoting their lives to itinerancy. Within the dōjō they pursued their religious activities; chanting the name, conducting sermons for their patrons, cultivating the land for their own food, and if time permitted, going forth on pilgrimages.

This dissertation, in examining the gender relations within the Yugyō school, has traced the roles of their female members. From the initial formation of the Yugyō school, the interaction, especially in the form of illicit relationships, between the monks and nuns was a concern for its leaders. There was no question, however, of women not belonging to the order. Nuns were an integral part of the school and their role and participation was essential to the religious practices and proselytism. In the mid-fourteenth century, Kai'amidabutsu in *Bōhishō* demanded that the monks and nuns keep a respectful social distance. He also, however, recommended their services, even if outside of their dōjō, be performed by both the monks and nuns: "Now, if the officer comes and does not request the service of the nuns, all of you are to go together and ask if it would be acceptable to

have both the monks and nuns [perform the service]."[1] This demonstrates that the combination of monks and nuns was considered essential for a jishū service. It also suggests that there were those outside the dōjō who were averse to the participation of women.

By the fifteenth century, the Yugyō school became an officially recognized religious sect by the Ashikaga government. The school gained the right to travel freely and their journeys were sponsored by the warriors. With food and shelter secured by the patrons, the traveling jishū no longer depended on each other for survival, altering the relationships not only between the leader and the jishū but among the members themselves. While chanting the Amida Buddha's name remained at the core of their practice, the experiences of co-participation as seen in the early formation of the group changed, and members were segregated into different ranks and assigned specific responsibilities.

The Yugyō school had also now become connected with the powerful warrior households, and began actively developing the doctrines for their own sect. Included in these debates and developing dogma was the assumed inferiority of women. Also, the very participation of women in the religious life of the order was put to question. By the sixteenth century, the functions of the female jishū forever changed within the Yugyō school, and attempts were made to dismiss woman from their own school's history.

Jacqueline Murray remarks that "our historical vantage point frequently blinds us to alternative interpretations and dissent from the ideology which prevailed in a society."[2] From the seventeenth century jishū nuns functioned within nunneries.[3] The

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1 Kai'amidabutsu, *Bōhishō*, 729. See the appendix for a translation of this entry.
2 Jacqueline Murray, "Thinking about Gender: The Diversity of Medieval Perspectives," in Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women, ed. Jennifer Carpenter (Urbana:

existence of jishū nunneries from this period have predisposed scholars to assume medieval dōjō were also gender divided.[4]

Bernard Faure has pointed out that in Buddhist texts generally: "Woman is conspicuously absent, or she appears in as much as she is an element of the Buddhist discourse on sexuality: not for herself, as individual, but as one pole of attraction or repulsion in a gendered male discourse about sex."[5] In the Yugyō school's documents, woman do appear as the repulsive figure, alluring and thus condemning men. However, the Yugyō school offers another view, buried deep within its narrative are 'pictures' of individual nuns whose stories have been overlooked or ignored. Uncovered within the documents were female leaders such as Dai'ichibō, leader of Onomichi dōjō, who organized the construction of the main gate. Revealed was how during battles, nuns helped the injured and assisted those to safety. Many nuns participated in the itinerant journeys, and were highly regarded for their skills. Also were nuns who mended the clothes of the monks and nuns who used monks as their personal servants.[6] The fragmentary, yet valuable sources presented in this study provide a rudimentary picture of the multiple facets of a jishū life in medieval Japan.

There were charismatic female jishū even outside of the Yugyō school.

University of Illinois Press, 1995), 2.

3 For example, during the Tokugawa period, Mantokuji in current Gunma prefecture, commonly known as the Divorce temple, was a Jishū nunnery. See Diana Wright, “Severing the Karmic Ties that Bind. The "Divorce Temple" Mantokuji,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 52, no. 3 (autumn 1997). Further research is needed to determine the roles of the jishū nuns during the Tokugawa period.

4 For example Jonathan Todd Brown states; "it seems probable the dōjō were ordinarily led by male jishū, and possible that nuns were never or almost never put in charge of practice halls in which monks were present." Brown, “Warrior Patronage," 383.

5 Bernard Faure, *The Red Thread: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 14.

6 Based on the regulations found in Takuga, *Tōzai sayō shō.* See chapter five and the appendix.

Chin'ichibō, for example, was a proactive, educated, and charismatic leader of a mixed gender dōjō in Iyo province. Chin'ichibō existence, however, is known only because she requested that her dōjō be converted to the Yugyō school.

That the surviving examples of female leaders reach us by chance is unsurprising when the paucity of the historical record is taken into account. The early itinerant movements did not leave many surviving texts, and where they did survive, the texts often fail to mention let alone highlight the gender of the communicants. This dissertation focused on the history of the comparatively well documented Yugyō school, mapping the transformation of its internal gender dynamics during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The evidence presented shows that a correlation can be drawn between the increasing institutionalization of the school and the decreasing role of women. The marginalization of the woman practitioners was also a consequence of the school's attempt to join the mainstream Buddhist organizations of the time.

By peering through the veil of the intervening centuries and revealing the strong role of women in the early itinerant Buddhist movements, the information presented in this thesis can help reexamine assumptions made about the role of women in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, assumptions that often are colored by the roles women held in subsequent periods.

A continued search for primary documents on other jishū schools will contribute to our knowledge of itinerant women and provide us with a better perceptive on the position of other jishū schools in relation to the Yugyō school. More light on the Yugyō school history might be obtained through comparative research on other religious movements with similar narratives from around the world. Through those comparisons, we would learn more about what is specific to the context of medieval Japan. A detailed

comparison of the changing social relations within the Yugyō school and the roles of women in the warrior class offers another avenue of study that will complement our understanding of women's lives in medieval Japan.

Appendix
Direct Translations of Selected Texts

1. *Reply towards Dai'ichibō of Nakajō.*[1]
   By Shinkyō (1237-1319)

Myself, as well as jishū, have abandoned our parents, discarded our children, forsaken our body, and abandoned our minds. After having given our body and life to the Amida Buddha, one may not have thoughts of ownership towards [other] jishū or belongings. Particularly, to consider one a master of [another] jishū, what notion is this?

Once a person of resolve requests [to have a jishū near by] and this is provided to that person, regardless of what happens, it is up to that person to decide matters. Therefore, there is no ground to retrieve [the jishū that was sent over].

Yet, still to retrieve [the jishū], then, you are disobeying the order of the Chishiki and [the promise you made] yourself.

Anything and everything is for the purpose of rebirth.

If someone does not have the faith, then it is that person's problem. To have supplied a jishū for [spiritual support] to that person, yet to retrieve [the jishū] because the agreement [turned out to be] different, than you have not done for the person but acted within your own mind. While you have the mind to behave on your own account, than you have forgotten that [such actions] defy the Chishiki's orders. To behave in this manner suggests that you have not let go of the life of laity, and the attitude of [owning] personal belongings. Thus even though the tonsure was taken, you being like this, go and break people's contracts.

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[1] Shinkyō, *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo*, in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 1, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 135.

Also, if a contract is met, you accord with the person, yet if it is not met, then you act upon yourself, [if this misconduct] is of benefit to the person and not yourself, than without debating the matter, [let it be that this] is what will make one closer to the mind of the Buddha.

Ultimately, I emphasize that the two nuns, Ryūichibō and Hōbutsubō be returned to the person who made the fundamental vow. You will also return the lotus carving along with them. Once an agreement has been made it is not to be broken by yourself. Having abandoned this world and discarded the body, there is no ground to becoming an owner of objects of this world. As it is the promise that we become the object of the Buddha, everything is for the purpose of rebirth for this body. There is no reason to be attached to things. It is only incommodious towards the path of rebirth.
By adopting a conciliatory attitude and allowing others to determine where one lives throughout the country is in accord with the wishes of the spirits of the dead and will also receive the Buddha’s protection. To object is to cultivate a mind which fosters resentment in one’s mind; this is of no benefit to anyone.

Thus, the ritual of agreement is itself to be directed and given to people. Within the various ways to have a slanted view of the all encompassing wisdom of the Buddha and while not fully understanding the gaze of the Buddha, then, this is what I propose for you.

Not yet have you discarded your heart nor reached the resolve of a sincere and earnest intention towards attaining enlightenment. Reflect upon your actions. In front of the statue of worship seek repentance for your sins and seek rebirth. If you have the slightest movement of mind, then, while you differ from the mind of the Buddha, this is what I request and propose for you.

Namuamidabutsu

2. *Letter by the Third Yugyō Shōnin Chitoku.*[2]
By the third Yugyō hijiri, Chitoku (1261-1320)

The late hijiri [Shinkyō] had spent over fourteen years in a permanent residence. It has been remarked that this was because of the rumors within Kamakura. For the benefit [to sentient beings]. And to correct those with a biases and misguided views. Many have become followers. However, there are still more who do not yet follow.

The time had arrived for [Shinkyō] to enter Nirvana.
[I] have received the method of teaching and to reside in this foundation. If I were to not take up this method, it would not only be against the way, but wrong and be the Devil's hindrance. It is, as a method of teaching, the wisdom of the Buddha. Therefore, there is no other issue.

Initially, one or two arrived [here]. But then there are those who have come interrupting their long trips and people keep on piling in. Because this is a sad time, it is understandable that both the laity and priests come [to offer respect to the late Shinkyō] However it is, for those who have still yet to acquire within their body the doctrinal teaching, to come here without prior notice, without any reason and without concerns to one's responsibility to the time, is to break the teaching. I therefore state that this be stopped immediately.

Nuns who have not even spent one or two years at [yugyō] have come. Even though I have said that just because you come does not imply that the ten nembutsu will be provided. However, I have heard that there are those who do not believe this. Thinking, if they are going to fall into Hell anyway, they force their way to Taima with the intention to die here. If this is true, than this is the result of having no aspiration.

For the momentous matter regarding one's life and death, one has disregarded the bond of love formed during their lay-life and have offered their life to the Chishiki. Therefore,

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[2] Chitoku, *Yugyō Sandai Chitoku Shōnin shōjo*, in *Shichijō monjo*. in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 1, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 392. See also *Chōrakuji no Meihō*, (*Special Display. Treasures of Chōraku-ji Temple. 700th Anniversary of the Foundation of Shichijō-dōjō Konko-ji Temple*) ed. Kyoto National Museum (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2000), 22-23.

even should your neck, legs, and hands fall off, there should be not one thought of ill will.

Entrusting rebirth to the yugyō hijiri, the third generation of the mission has been passed on. Therefore, I have recorded a few things that have been on my mind.

To become a jishū is to seek help for the indirect cause and to offer help by spreading the teaching. For those who are still attached to the ego, or those who by their own accord have no positive aspiration for awakening, or those who go near and far from the Chishiki as well as those who do not concern themselves with salvation nor in attaining absolute faith in Amida's, will have no chance in achieving rebirth.

Those who seek by any means a way to gain stationary life, or do not comprehend the benefit of yugyō, those who share such thoughts end up having no aspiration.
One who sells their heart to the lord is a loyal retainer. One who gains the heart of the Chishiki is a disciple. Since this understanding is not yet comprehended by many, I continue to hear of these matters.

Even if one claims wholeheartedly that coming here is within reason and one is serving the momentous matter regarding one's life and death, one should keep in mind the purpose and training on yugyō and expect to die [while on yugyō] Without spending years and months [in yugyō before coming] here, regardless of who you are, is not to be forgiven.
Keep this [in your] heart. Make sure to read this to all members.

Now also regarding Myōichibō, who I sent to you, had from the late hijiri [Shinkyō] been constantly mentioned as someone who had not given-up their body/mind.
Now, realizing that she was thought so [by Shinkyō], [she] feels resentment and regret of this. Therefore, in order to prove her worth to him, she has resolved to commit her body in yugyō and to redeem her late actions.

She [Myōichibō] had come to me numerous [three] times and I concurred with her decision. To treat her as someone who disobeyed my wishes, to resent the attention given to her and her proximity to sit near [the leader, Donkai] is unfounded. I have heard that the nuns have taken deep resentment towards this. Those who discriminate against Myōichibō are discriminating against the Chishiki. This is a grave crime.

[Myōichibō] is of considerable age. As [her] time in stationary [service] was long, there are people who think it must have been pretty boring. However, as the hijiri [Shinkyō] words are within memory [in the ear], it [became] crucial that [Myōichibō] give up her body/mind, and this was expressed with great emotion, we are all to understand this. If it was that [she] had gone against me [Chitoku], then it would be my [responsibility] to make [her] attain absolute faith in Amida's salvation. It was not out of selfish reasons that she was sent there. It is expected that all these matters be taken into account when considering this.

Now, Gen'amidabutsu has done many years of yugyō and can be sent to lead a stationary life. As this was being considered, there was a person named Lord Godai'in Uemon Muneshige. He is devoted to the prescribed method of birth in Amida Pure Land. For the first time he has requested jishū [and since Gen'amidabutsu] was going to serve here, I send [him to Lord Godai'in] with many others. People who did not serve and did not have the awakened aspiration [they] have been sent to Kamakura. While it may appear [to you that there are] not enough people [don't worry] they will naturally join.

Trust all to the wisdom of the Buddha. Do not take any personal measures.

Respectfully
Namuamidabutsu

3. Selections from *Bōhishō,* by Kai'amidabutsu[3]

One must not touch, receive or sit beside a woman. 100 *rai.*[4]

The following should be observed.
Exceptions are: during the hymn of praise for the buddha, the amulets [distributions], and the lotus flower [service]. Aside from these [activities], it should be completely stopped.

Regarding keeping in possession objects from the laity or from other priest [or] among the monks and nuns.

When responsible for someone else's belonging, it is a weight upon you. Should you lose the object, you accrue the ill will and the whole group will be suspected of having stolen the object. This would be an embarrassment and shameful action for someone who took the tonsure. Also, both monks and nuns interact and become close, which inevitably builds up desire towards lust. Thus we have this prevention.

Regarding preventing closeness from all females.
Associated monks and nuns should not cross over to each other's section. However, should this rule be ignored and the boundaries be crossed, [the punishment is] 100 rai.[5]

This is for those who took the tonsure and precepts.
Even if there was not a regulation like this, this is something to be deeply guarded.
It is because that man would incur doubt and suspicion [within the community].
This will result in slander from the outsiders, because it inspires active lust.
It is stated in the Lotus Sutra, if one goes to another house, do not converse with girls, ladies, or women. If you must speak the Buddha's teaching to a female, then do not show your teeth with laughter. Do not display what is in your heart.
All is for the Buddha, there is no need to became exceptionally friendly.

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3 Kai'amidabutsu, *Bōhishō,* in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 2, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 720-729. Written in 1341.
4 The following four entries can be found on page 722.
5 The small font represents the small font in the text.

The great leader of the past, during his life, did not look up to see women.
Our sect and other sects all fear this.
Even the great priest before realizing perfect absorption take guard against this.
How, then can it be that the disciples do not guard this?
This is why this order is recorded.
An exception is made during the death-bed prayer and when performing the method for saving suffering beings.

Regarding the prevention of patrons seeking monks and nuns for issues not related to the scripture. 200 rai.

This is because many evil and bad things happen when monks and nuns allow each other access [to their space]. Therefore, this rule is made to prevent that from happening.

Even if it is for the benefit of the patron, the facing together of monks and nuns without a chaperone must be stopped.
Patron punishable by 100 rai, officers by 500 rai, and ordinary jishū by 1000 rai.

Even if it there was nothing that required an apology, [what happened] is not acceptable. Since this [action] can lead into development of lust, this rule is made. Patrons, especially must guard against this. This rule is for the benefit of both the patrons and the jishū.

Regarding the matter of moving. One must not leave the existing residence to move elsewhere. 5000 rai.[6]

In the faraway past, to prevent attachment to a place of residence, one did not foretell [imagine] living in one place. Like floating clouds and the current of water.
People today rise with anger and hate regarding their master.
Or form attachments to their clothes, food and dwelling.
This is why most dislike [where they are] and desire that which is far away.

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6 The next two entries are from page 723.

These matters are against the manner of being a disciple of the Buddha. For this reason, this regulation is set.
However, if both patrons are in harmony, then there is no restriction.

Regarding the matter of selecting nuns for your personal service. Even if you are a hijiri or a dōjō leader, do not have nuns wait on you.

In the *ritsuzō* and other sutras, there are discussions regarding the [correct] proximity to women.
It is also said in an old saying. The hermit named One-Horn was caught by a women. He lost the path to the sky of five hundred climbs, and fell.
It would be better to put the man's sex in the mouth of a poison snake than to go close to a woman.
It is recorded in the four categories of Benefit. It is best not to get close [to a woman].
To have someone wait on you, for your own personal purposes, what is the benefit of this?
Also, there are many young monks in service, this too is to be stopped.
Should [the leaders] break this[this rule], then all members would conduct [in] this [way].
However exceptions are made for beneficial services.

Regarding prohibiting jishū working as doctors and practicing magic.[7]

There are those who, without reading one book, claim to be someone who practices medicine.
As expected, there are mishaps.
In an old document, it is said,
It is not the illness that kills the person, it is the doctor.
...
However, depending on the time and depending on the person, and if there was pardon given by the patron, this [practice would then be] exempt [from this rule].

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7 This entry is from page 727.

Regarding the stopping of long journeys or going on pilgrimages without the accompaniment of one's local leader (*bōzu*)[8]

The path of a journey is to climb steps and challenging mountain peaks, to surpass rough waves of the river and ocean. Through these dangerous experiences, the monks and nuns develop a bond [that leads to the crime of sex]. Through these experiences in which they need to work together, they develop relationships. As it is, when the boundary to the secular world is crossed, then the heart [desire] for lust grows stronger. And so, the prohibitions are broken.

This is a sad thing. To be chained within prison for life and death. The basic cause and conditions [of] transmigration are desire and lust. Therefore the journeys [the monks and nuns take can] lead to the path of temptation [which will give them the opportunity] to violate the precepts.

Indeed, it is ideal to encompass the real intention of Buddhas and gods by going on pilgrimages. However, I repeat, the space between the monks and nuns needs to be limited.

To prevent this evil from occurring, the [dōjō] leader must accompany the jishū to enforce the restrictions and to prevent any misconduct. Now, for short return trips, include the patron.
However, nun leaders are excluded from this, because they are weak in enforcing punishments.

Regarding the accompaniment of monks and nuns to a lay household without the chaperons of a patron or officer.

The following is in regards to the space between monks and nuns. When [an incident occurs] within the dōjō, punishment must be imposed harshly. Still, should words be exchanged, faces looking at each other, how is this to reflect on the morality [of us] to the [surrounding] community. It is nothing but violation of the precepts. Any such occurrence must be stopped.

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8 The next two entries are from page 729.

However, depending on the situation and the timing, the patron may be involved. Should the patron go elsewhere and it is regarding betsuji and Buddhist services, his wishes must not be discarded.

Now, if the officer comes and does not request the service of the nuns, all of you are to go together and ask if it would be acceptable to have both the monks and nuns [perform the service]. If not, then those except the nuns [*amahōshi*] will provide the service. The nuns [*nishū*] should then go and make the request [to participate].

4. Introduction of *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku, Shichidai Yugyō Ta'amibabutsu*[9]
By the seventh Yugyō hijiri, Takuga (1285-1354)

The time was during a difficult and hot summer, after we had finished our teaching in Kyūshū, we had headed to Shikoku to teach.

When our yugyō took us to Iyo province, [we encountered the leader of Okunotani dōjō]. Okunotani Hōgōnji was founded by Sen'a, a disciple of Ippen Shōnin. The successor and head priest was Sen'a's disciple nun Chin'ichibō. She continued to reside there working towards rebirth.

Having known of the yugyō, Chinichibō was in admiration of the continued prosperity of the method of teaching and the benefit of it that had not diminished from the past [Ippen]. Wishing to participate, she came with her members to receive the ten nembutsu.

The experience was greater than her expectation. She was overcome with tears and invited us to her dōjō. Here, we stayed for three days. Even after we departed, we promised to always remain in contact and demonstrated our will of surrender.

We continued to Yakura, spending several days with many coming and going, with those days behind us, we returned to the dōjō.

There on the same sixth month twenty-first day, the head priest Chin'ichibō came. She said: "I have come on a matter of great importance. I have noticed a change in my body, [especially] on the road here. The reason for my coming is to request that the dōjō be under your guidance after I achieve my real intention [of rebirth]."

This agreement was made on the morning of the twenty-first, and while [she] was making her leave with tears in her eyes, [I] gave her an Ami-cloth and told her to wear this [when she] achieves rebirth. She achieved rebirth on the twenty-sixth at the hour of *tatsu* [between 7am and 9am]. This was wholly within Buddha's wisdom. In accordance with her wishes a head priest was placed [as head of her order] from a Yugyō [member]. The monks and nuns both accepted their former master's order and will now follow my words

9 Takuga, *Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku,* in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 1, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 250-251.

to enter the [Yugyō school] jishū with the same vow and same heart, and continue to live at the [dōjō].

Jishū under our school have from now [on] and into the never-ending future have entrusted their body and mind to the Chishiki. Should they break this [vow], they will, from under their feet [and through their entire body] be affected by white and black leprosy. They will fall out of the forty-eight promises of Amida and sink into the three evil paths, never to resurface.

To become a jishū, one takes the vow and strikes the gong. This is the demonstration of the emergence of the three thoughts of faith [of sincere heart, deep thought and aspiration to be born in Amida Pure Land]. For the purpose of understanding one's need to take refuge in the Chishiki. The promise and the precept of the three various Buddhas are the proper deeds which lead to birth in Pure Land. It is therefore the precept to return to the heart of the Buddha. It also holds the commandment of one's devotion to the Buddha.

The observance of the pure precepts is conductive to enlightenment. This is what the other power holds. Do not create crime out of your own power. Indeed, since the precept is based on the three thoughts of faith, how could you break it? It is the Diamond precept. Thus, if the vow is broken, the heart that made the vow did not have the three thoughts of faith and is unable to achieve rebirth.

The proper way of the heart is in understanding that the oath you make to the Chishiki, is to the Buddha in human form. You must know then that the metal [gong that you strike] to make your promise is the forty-eight vows in which the Buddha and the Chishiki become a single body.

Sentient beings are encompassed by the mercy and compassion that is in the heart of the Buddha. It is the Chishiki, Buddha and the mercy and compassion that comprises the heart.

For this reason it is stated in the scripture that the Buddha's mind is composed of great mercy and compassion. It is said: To encounter the *zen-chishiki* is to be met with great mercy and compassion. One must know this is the same mercy and compassion.

To the monks and nuns of Okunotani [dōjō], now that you have agreed to incorporate

our school style, the water of the Dharma will never cease. The ocean and Buddha are of the same mind and together create extensive wonder of Buddha's blessing. As this contract has been made, I have recorded the various manners and way for performing jishū practices.

5. First forty-four entries from *Tōzai sayō shō*[10]
By the seventh Yugyō hijiri, Takuga (1285-1354)

In the past, there were true Chishiki. And there were many jishū who had sincere and earnest intentions to attain enlightenment by giving to the Chishiki. And so five to six leaders passed.

The time is now upon me. And I, sadly seem not to be a true Chishiki.

Because of this, I do not see jishū who find resolve to attain enlightenment through their Chishiki. It is said: The protection of clear perception is the great indirect cause for good deportment. It must be fate that it is the way it is today.

Without forgetting the main cause of the past, without neglecting the practices of today, let us not make the future effects hollow.

Furthermore, since the will of jishū are not obvious, the following examples have been recorded for the jishū that can be seen and for the jishū in places that cannot be seen.

1) Have sudden insights to reason; be gradual in practice.

2) Never be over confident in your actions.

3) Comprehend that you must train constantly.

4) Discard any distracting thoughts. Without distractions, the fountain of the mind will be completely empty and tranquil.

5) Face the boundary of secular life and simply discard your mind. Break your own slanted thoughts by facing other insults.

6) At no time should the desire of lust capture your thoughts. Inclusively, the same goes for any location that would cause distraction of mind.

7) Rid yourself of a place to dwell and keep that sentiment alive.

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10 Takuga, *Tōzai sayō shō,* in *Teihon Jishū shūten* 2, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 733-741. I have added the numeric numbers for convenience, it is not in the original document.

8) At no time and no place are you to have illusory thoughts. If any ill thoughts arise, they are to be erased into darkness. ...

9) While in front of the Chishiki or a venerable elder, do not take a hand cloth and wipe away your sweat or wipe your face.

10) Do not look up to see the nuns or women. If by chance you see them, do not think to look at them again.

11) Do not think of sexual desire.

12) Do not hold any thoughts or actions other than the commands given by the Chishiki.

13) In the past, there were no edicts and together jishū had on their own volition the sincere and earnest intention to attain enlightenment and performed accordingly. Now there are rules and doctrines, and they behave as if they have forgotten their roles.

14) Newly converted are not to hold a fan in their waist-belt. Fans that show pictures and colour, are especially prohibited.

15) At the end of year betsuji service and during other betsuji services within jishū dōjō, do not neglect the nembutsu by telling stories, chatting and laughing.

16) Do not enjoy events like tea ceremonies.

17) Do not go to the nun's quarters without accompaniment. Even if you have many accompanying you, do not go casually. While in that room do not continuously laugh and tell stories.

18) Regardless of how tired one is, wake yourself up to engage in the noon and night services.

19) When in front of the Chishiki, face him directly. Do not avoid him.

20) Do not talk about your time spent in the secular world.

21) Do not discuss the good and evil of the secular world.

22) In the presence of the Chishiki, do not fall asleep on your cheek.

23) Do not raise your leg or change your legs. Do not have your legs up even under your clothing.

24) Do not show your chest by leaving your shirt open.

25) When in the presence of the Chishiki, monks and nuns are not to tell stories or utter words.

26) Mend your clothes.

27) Aside from the betsuji service, clothes should be clean and vivid. If they are not new, make sure to clean them very well.

28) At all times, do not associate with lay people.

29) Do not form relationships. Do not favor interactions.

30) Always conduct your training with a positive attitude. Do not distance yourself from it.

31) New jishū are to respect the experienced jishū. Experienced jishū are not to look down upon the new members.

32) Always recall the initial time of your resolve to attain enlightenment. Do not develop an ego-ism.

33) Do not think you are above others. Do not think you are below others.

34) Clothing is to be provided by the Chishiki. Do not dislike it[the robe] even if it is thin or short. Wear it long.

35) Jishū sent to other locations are to perform in accordance with the patron's wishes.

36) Hijiri residing at other dōjō are not to accept gifts. A thin cloth is all that is needed. Do not have more than those around you. Do not consume better food than those around you.

37) The hijiri sent to other places, do not flaunt a hijiri-face, nor act with arrogance.

38) The hijiri at a dōjō must work the land with the group.

39) During service and when in front of Chishiki, join one's palms together, this is a demonstration of belief.

40) The noon and night services are to be performed as if they were [being performed] for the last time.

41) While the daytime services are being performed do not rush to leave.

42) Sleep in the dōjō once the nighttime service is over.

43) For the noon and night services, engage your own voice in the chant.

43) Do not personally have a nun mend your own clothing and fabric such as *katabira.* [Clothing to be mended] must be submitted together.

6. A sample selection from the *Jishū kakochō*[11]

Entries by the Tenth Yugyō leader, Gangu (1324-1387). The Nuns section.

Sixth year of Teiji, sixth month, eleventh day **Kyōbutsubō**	Same, ninth month, twenty sixth day **Sin'ichibō**	First year Ōan, Uzuki, eleventh day[13] **Kyōichibō**
First year Ōan, fourth month, twenty second day **Zen'ichibō** [Kushige][12]	Same, fifth month, nineteenth day **Dai'ichibō** [Hagitai]	First year Ōan, fifth month, fourteenth day **Ge'ichibō** [Iwano]
Same first year, seventh month, third day **Shōbutsubō** [Iwamatsu]	**Dai'ichibō** [Honchō]	Second year Ōan, ninth month, fourth day **Myōbutsubō**
Third year Ōan, Shōgatsu, sixteenth day **Sanbutsubō**	Fourth year Ōan, Shōgatsu, nineteenth day **Ken'ichibō**	Same, second month, eleventh day **Jūbutsubō**
Same, third month, eleventh day **Dai'ichibō** [Komazawa]	Third year Ōan, third month, twenty-eighth day **Dai'ichibō** [Motonaga]	Fourth year Ōan, Shōgatsu, fifth day **Shōichibō** [Onomichi]
Same, fourth month, third day **Shi'amidabutsu** [Satomi]	Same, fourth month, eighteenth day **Ryō'ichibō**	Same, fifth month, fifth day **Shō'ichibō** [Roku'ura]

11 *Jūyō bunka zai, Jishū kakochō*, 104. Also in Ōhashi, *Jishū kakochō,* 169.

12 Brackets indicate the entries were recorded on the reverse side of the page. In general it states the location or occupation of the individual.

13 Year 1367. First year of Ōan is 1368. Uzuki is the fourth month. Shōgatsu is the first month.

7. Entries one to twelve from *Shinshū yōhō ki*[14]
By the twenty-first Yugyō hijiri, Chiren (1460-1513).[15]

1. Regarding the Chanting of the Amida Sutra in the Morning and Beyond, and on the Three Repetitions of the Ten Nembutsu.

We have various chants of worship in both Chinese and Japanese for transferring merit towards attaining birth in the Amida Pure Land. However, we are to chant these out of our own volition. Later, taking the Amida Sutra, transfer merit towards the founder and use that as help towards [entering] the *kakochō*. Repeat the ten nembutsu three times: first, direct it towards the three gate signs. This is because these are the places of worship. Next, direct it towards the one box. This is because the gods and Buddhas have vowed to protect this practice. One should thank them for their protection of the practice. Finally, although the previously mentioned reasons all make possible the transfer of merit and are virtuous acts, [the chanting] is also to be done for those who have made donations on that particular day, and for all sentient beings throughout the universe.

2. Regarding the Last Ten Nembutsu of Midday[16]

The last ten nembutsu of midday are to be held sacred.
It is said in the text: "the good worshipper's performance of worship is empty and tranquil, with no consciousness of self or others, it embodies non-duality. We, together with the body of all sentient beings, desire to explain the path and give rise to the perception of enlightenment, as well as to the consciousness of the ultimate truth." Therefore, if the people of the world pray to the Chishiki, then they are good worshippers. The Chishiki in return stands to pray for his disciples, thus they become those whom are worshipped. This idea should be held in the heart for all worship as well as during the special time [nembutsu]. One should really understand this.

3. Regarding the Two Repetitions of the Ten Nembutsu in the Early Evening and Beyond.[17]

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14 Chiren, *Shinshū yōhōki*. In *Teihon Jishū shūten*, vol. 2, ed. Jishū shūten hensan i'inkai (Fujisawa: Jishū Shūmusho, 1979), 990-992.
15 A copy of this translation with an introduction and supplementary notes was published in *Jishū kyōgaku nenpō* 32, (2004): 50-70.
16 Midday is between the hours of 10-12am.
17 Early evening is between the hours of 6-9pm.

[The first of the two repetitions of] the ten nembutsu of the early evening and beyond is for Sir Nikaido of Kamakura, as the jishū are grateful towards him. Formerly, even in the extreme heat, one was not able to carry a fan; even in the utmost cold, one could not wear a hat. Now all of these are permitted. Also, the everyday shaving of the hair has been reduced to once in three days. In addition, before, when a jishū crossed over to the Pure Land, its body was discarded either in the mountain or along the roads. Now, we can cremate [the dead jishū members]. For the sake of gratitude for these four considerations, our group as one are encouraged to participate in this [chanting of the ten nembutsu].
The next ten nembutsu is in accordance with the wishes of the Honourable Kamakura Shogun Chōshun'in. It has been from the fourteenth leader that this practice has been encouraged. The record proving this is within the grounds at Fujisawa.

4. Regarding the Platform Dance of Early Evening and Midday.

Dancing after the early evening is done facing in the direction of Kumano, and is to be enjoyed in a religious way. We have this promise with the gods and our founder. To the divine message, we promise and say: those belonging to the Ippen School will never make pilgrimages in front of shrines. We at all times will not leave the dōjō but protect it. That is why the flint is placed in front of the shrine, and the fire is in the grounds.
The platform dancing after midday is for all sentient beings down to and including those with leprosy. This demonstrates the expression of the principle of not discriminating between ordinary beings and sages. The nembutsu dance is thus done together with everyone; it is to bring ultimate deliverance to those born in low classes.
From the very beginning what is called platform dancing has been a practice of our group. As for the practice of our founder, training was either in the temple, shrine grounds, or town marketplace. Regardless of secular or lay, male or female, together all danced the nembutsu dance. From this began this performing practice.

5. Regarding the Half-Opened Lotus Flower.

A question was asked: Other schools generally have an open lotus. In our group we are not like this, why is that?
The answer in reply was: Our school takes the fundamental quality of sentient beings of this latter day world and makes them receivers of enlightenment.
The fundamental qualities of these sentient beings of this latter day world are people of

the ten resultant evils and five deadly sins. Therefore, by meeting the Chishiki and by chanting the [Amida] name, their rebirth in the Pure Land will be certain.
However, having said this, the lower of the low level take six kalpa to pass. The lowest of the low take twelve kalpa to pass.
Since this is a result of accumulative obstruction to the lotus-womb, our founder had compassion for this. He revealed that within this world of ascetic practice, the 'soul' is entrusted to the half-opened lotus flower. While continually thinking about this, think well of the twelve great kalpa. Then, at the end of your life, the chanting of the name Amida with total conviction will open the flower and you will be reborn in the highest level.
In the commentary of the *Mahavairocana Sutra*, a passage is noted on the half-opened lotus flower, it says: "this is the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas treasure box. Also, there are two stages: one is the opening of the blossom after it is closed; the second is the closing of the flower after it is open."
The truth is: the half-opened lotus flower is the shape of the dusk and dawn of the nembutsu.

6. Regarding the Promised Precepts.

In the jishū, when someone strikes the bell for the promised precepts, the Chishiki is to hold this in mind. How auspicious! This person stands before the founder, the Chishiki, and the gathered assembly; having pledged the precepts as rules of the indestructible diamond, he strikes the bell. This very action itself is equivalent to crossing over.
From Amida to the Bodhisattvas and all the Buddhas and Gods, and the three treasures, all will certainly delight in it.
As we look upon this person, we earnestly pray that he will dare not break these promised precepts. However, even if they are broken, from the beginning the precepts are like the Diamond. They do not break people. Also, the Buddha, together with Chishiki, does not break them. For the above [reasons] rebirth in the Pure Land will certainly be achieved.
This rule is indeed the moral commandment of the Buddha. That is precisely why it is named 'The precepts of the indestructible diamond.' The commandment of the concentrated diamond treasure mind is called the 'Moral Commandments of the Buddha.'
In the commentary of *Yōjin no daikō* it is said: "the time of striking the bell should give rise at that very moment to the adamantine absorption. For this, it is said; the kindling of faith is the state of the wondrous enlightenment."
The adamantine absorption is a passing from the enlightenment of the bodhisattva to that

of wondrous enlightenment. During this time, the state of mindfulness is achieved. Know this! For this is the observing of the Buddha's moral commandments. This is what we call the perfect and sudden teaching of the true mind.
Now, it is said in the promised precepts: until the future is extinguished, one yields one's body and life to the Chishiki. This, and only this, is the most important thing. How, after entrusting one's body and life to the Chishiki, could selfish views arise?
When one considers one's life as one's own possession, because of this, the various dharma all reside within the boundaries of one's own possessions. From time immemorial to this very day, the reason for being swept along and turned about in the three realms is because we are dependent on selfish views. At the very conscious moment of yielding the word "I" to the Chishiki, everything in the universe becomes selfless, and therefore, the crossing over is guaranteed. This is said to be the state of wondrous enlightenment.

7. Regarding the Length and Sound of the Nembutsu.

As for the practitioners of the nembutsu, it is understood that each and every sound and each and every step is directed towards the time of death. Having said this, [our school is][18] especially drawn to this time, and thus takes the state of nembutsu and directs it towards the last breath. Therefore, the nembutsu at the end of one's life is to be in accordance with that person's fundamental quality. It is to be chanted in either high or low voice, or made longer or shorter. Because of this chant, the crossing over is accomplished. Therefore, at various places, and each by each, this is to be chanted.
This is specifically seen in the teachings of Hōnen Shōnin's ritual performance at the time of death.

8. Regarding the Traveling Between Provinces and the Chanting the Ten Nembutsu.

There are two matters concerning the chanting of the ten nembutsu and proselytizing.
First: although training is to be done in one province, the ten nembutsu is to be chanted for those sentient beings under affliction everywhere. Thus all desire to unite and achieve rebirth in Amida Pure Land.
Second: On receiving the alms from the congregation of the province, we therefore, in return, transfer the merit of the ten nembutsu out of the desire to repay the debt we owe to the province.

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[18] There is a missing character in the text.

9. Regarding the Extinguishing of the Light in the Middle of the Night, at the Time of Practice.

In the dark with a loud voice the nembutsu is chanted in unison. Specific details are written on another page.
As the *Lotus Sutra* states: "we are now indeed, at the middle of the night, about to enter nirvana. The Buddha during this night is extinguished and crossed over into Nirvana, just like fire wood burning up and the fire extinguishing."   This phrase expresses this kind of idea. Beyond that, the one voice of the nembutsu and the many secret teachings are just the realm of Buddha with [other] Buddhas.

10. Regarding the Clothing for the Nembutsu.

Someone said: the founder had encountered the supreme and extraordinary Dharma and with ease of understanding departed [the common realm] and danced the nembutsu dance. He had not known that he had stepped on his hem and had pulled it down. It is since this that we have been like this.
I have a copy of the *Diamond Sutra*, it says: "of the dharma one must abandon it. All the more so, how much more true is this for the non-dharma?"
In our school, it is said: above the dharma, we reject the dharma and become detached from all phenomena. Thus, in our attire, we do not wear underskirts and we use five patches as our robes. For our rosary, we carry one with fifty-four [beads]. By this, it becomes possible to know various other things.

11. Regarding the Robes that are Shared by Both the Master and the Disciple.

The five-patch robe is either called the practice robe, the beggar robe, or the vest. These are convenient for sitting or lying down in religious activities and training. That is why we wear them. It is for both the master and disciple to take the same meaning from this.

12. Regarding the Master and Disciple's Garment Colour of White and Black.

A question: the master's garment is white, while the disciple's is black, why is this?
The response: the master's garment is white because this is the colour of the fundamental law. Being not deep and not defiled, it arrives at whiteness. Generally, the colour white is

the basis of all colours. All sentient beings' internal nature, innate Buddhahood, and purity of heart are the colour white. Therefore, the master's garment returns to the innate purity, and thus has arrived at white.

The commentary in the *Mahavairocana Sutra* says: "the accomplished enlightenment is of the colour white. Namely, this is the perfect and astounding ultimate meaning."

Also, for the disciple's garment, as they are not yet trained, it is the colour black.

8. List of Jishū Schools and the Names of their Leaders.

Rokujō Dōjō	**Yugyō School**[19]		**Taima Dōjō**	**Ikkō School**
Shōkai 1261-1323		Ippen Chishin (1239-1274)		Ikkō Shunshō (1239-1287)
*[20]		Shinkyō Ta'amidabutsu (1237-1319)		Reichi'a (?)
		Chitoku (1260-1320)		Zon'a (?)
				*
	4. Donkai (1264-1327) 5. Akoku (1278-1337) 6. I'chin (1277-1355) 7. Takuga (1284-1354) 8. Tosen (1305-1381) 9. Hakuboku (1314-1367) 10. Gangu (1324-1387) 11. Jiku (1329-1412) 12. Sonkan (1349-1400) 13. Sonmyō (1350-1417) 14. Taikū (1375-1439) 15. Son'ne (1364-1429) 16. Nanyō (1387-1470) 17. Kiyū (1398-1466) 18. Nyozō (1419-1494) 19. Sonkō (1427-1496) 20. Ippō (1450-1512) 21. Chiren (1459-1513)		Shinkō (?-1333)	
			Jikō (?-1344)	
			[21]	

19 Leaders known as Ta'amidabutsu
20 * indicates that the subsequent leaders are unknown
21 Subsequent leaders named Ta'amidabutsu

List of Jishū Schools and the Names of their Leaders, continued.[24]

Shijō Dōjō	**Kai'a School**	**Koku'a School**	**Okunotani Dōjō**
	Kankyō Kai'a(1206-1293)		Sen'a (?)
Shinkan Jō'amidabutsu (1268-1341)	Ren'a (1264-1312)		Chin'ichibō (? -1344)
[22]	[23]		
		Zuishin Koku'amidabutsu (1314-1405) *	

[22] Subsequent leaders named Jō'amidabutsu

[23] From the fourteenth hundreds, the leader of this school took on the name, Tei'a.

[24] The following sources were consulted in creating the charts: Takano, *Jishū kyōdanshi*, 73-80. Jishū no bijutsu to bungeiten jikkōinkai, ed. *Jishū no bijutsu to bungei*, 47. Onozawa, "Jishū towa nanika 2," 42-43.

Glossary of Selected Japanese Names, Titles and Terms

a	阿
Abutsu-ni (d-1283)	阿仏尼
ama	尼
amidabutsu	阿弥陀仏
Amidakyō-shū	阿弥陀経宗
bikuni	比丘尼
betsuji nembutsu	別時念仏
bōzu	坊主
Bōhishō	防非鈔
Boichibō	菩一房
butsubō	佛房
Chinichibō	珍一房
Chinzei	鎮西
Chitoku (1261-1320)	智得
Chiren (1459-1513)	知蓮
Chishiki	知識
Chishiki kimyō	知識帰命
chōshō	調声
Daihannya haramitta kyō	大般若波羅蜜多経
Dai'ichibō	大一房
dōbōshū	同朋衆
dōdō no jishū	同道の時衆
dōgyō	同行
dōjō	道場
Dōjō seimon	道場誓文
Donkai (1265-1327)	呑海
Emperor Kōgon (1313-1364)	光厳天皇
Emperor Kōmyō (1321-1380)	光明天皇
fu	不
Fuboku wakashū	夫木和歌集
Fujiwara Tameie (1198-1275)	藤原為家
Fujisawa dōjō	藤沢道場
Fujisawa Shōnin	藤沢上人

fusan	賦算
gyakushū	逆修
Gakizōshi	餓鬼草紙
Gen'ichibō	現一房
gensei riyaku	現世利益
giba	耆婆
henjō nanshi	変成男子
hijiri	聖
Hikohohodeminomikoto emaki	彦火火出見尊絵巻
Hōgonji	宝厳寺
ichibō	一房
Ikkō Shunshō (1239-1287)	一向俊聖
Ippen Chishin (1239-1289)	一遍智真
Ippen hijiri e	一遍聖絵
ishidaiku	石大工
Itsutsu no swari	五つの障り
Jikū (1329-1412)	自空
Jishū kakochō	時衆過去帳
Jishū seikai	時衆誓誡
Jōjō gyōgi hōsoku	條條行儀法則
jūichi funi ju	十一不二頌
jūnen	十念
Kai'amidabutsu	解阿弥陀仏
Kaibutsubō	戒佛房
kaizoku	海賊
kamaya	釜屋
kaneya	金屋
kanjin	勧進
Keibutsubō	經仏房
kechienshū	結縁衆
ki	機
kinsōi	金瘡医
kinsō	金瘡
Kitano tenjin engi	北野天神縁起
Kodera dōjō	小寺道場
Kōichibō	光一房

Kōgimon'in	広義門院
Kontaiji	金台寺
Kumano bikuni	熊野比丘尼
Kusano Nagayoshi	草野永泰
kusuri-ya	薬屋
kyakuryō	客寮
miko	巫女
mōja kuyō	亡者供養
Musō Sōseki (1275-1351)	夢窓疎石
Myōichibō	妙一房
Namuamidabutsu	南無阿弥陀仏
Nanyō (1387-1470)	南要
nembutsu	念仏
nenju-ya	念珠屋
Nijūgo-u	二十五有
Nikki Yoshinaga (d.1376)	仁木義長
Nin'ichibō	忍一房
nishū	尼衆
Nyonin kekkai	女人結界
Okunotani dōjō	奥谷道場
Onomichi dōjō	尾道道場
oshi	御師
Oudo kakochō	往古過去帳
rai	禮
Reizei Tamesuke (1263-1328)	冷泉為相
Rokuon nichiroku	鹿苑日録
ryō	寮
Ryōichibō	令一房
Saieji	西江寺
Saigōji	西郷寺
saka-ya	酒屋
San'ichibō	三一房
Sansei yuijū shō	産生類聚抄
Seizan	西山
sendatsu	先達
Sesshū (1420-1506)	雪舟

Shichijō dōjō	七条道場
Shijō dōjō	四条道場
Shinkyō (1237-1319)	真教
shishō	四生
Shōamidabutsu	稱阿彌陀佛
shōban no jishū	相伴の時衆
Shōbutsubō	稱佛房
Shōichibō	生一房
Shōdōmon	聖道門
shoku dokoro	食所
Shōrinji	照林寺
Shōdatsu	聖達
shugyō	修行
Shūichibō	衆一房
Sō	僧
Sōni	僧尼
Son'ichibō	尊一房
Sono’amidabutsu	其阿弥陀仏
sōsahi-sho	物裁所
Ta'amidabutsu	他阿弥陀仏
Ta'a Shōnin hōgo	他阿上人法語
Taikū (1375-1439)	太空
Taima dōjō	当麻道場
Takuga (1285-1354)	託何
Taruma dōjō	垂間道場
toku	徳
tōnin	頭人
tōnseimon	遁世門
Tōzai sayō shō	東西作用抄
niga byakudō	二河白道
yamabushi	山伏
yugyō	遊行
Yugyō-ha	遊行派
Yugyō Shōnin	遊行上人
Yugyō Shōnin engie	遊行上人縁起絵
Yūzu nembutsu engi	融通念仏縁起

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